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ABSTRACT

This report contains a series of essays dealing with strategies to reduce isolation in metropolitan areas. Social isolation is defined as that which affects groups or individuals in such a manner as to limit or deny their access to, and to bar their freedom to choose among the options which society offers to a majority of citizens. Two models (analytical and functional) for the reduction of isolation in metropolitan areas are proposed. A guide for the reduction of isolation in metropolitan areas is described. This guide is designed to help concerned individuals to examine the problems and to search for solutions, and has 5 elements: (1) identification of the extent of isolation; (2) involving leaders and individuals; (3) developing strategies; (4) implementing the action; and (5) evaluation. Essays concerning litigation, proposed solutions, and research on desegregation discuss themes such as: (1) metropolitan school desegregation litigation; (2) pursuing metropolitan desegregation in the courts; (3) isolation in metropolitan education and the impact of the courts; (4) the urban fiscal crisis (5) nonpublic schools and public school education; (6) the higher education system and public school isolation; (7) metropolitan research designs; and (8) factors affecting reduction of isolation in public education. (Author/AM)

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Exploring Metropolitan Ways Toward Reducing Isolation: Prospects for Progress

Report No. 104

Prepared by Forbes Bottomly and Allison Kitfield, editors,
for the ECS Department of Elementary/Secondary Education
with the financial support of the Ford Foundation
and the cooperation of Georgia State University.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
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FOREWORD

We have called this project Metropolitan Educational Alternatives. The acronym MEDALS seems appropriate as anyone adventurous enough to approach isolation from a metropolitan perspective may merit an award. The search for successful metropolitan strategies to reduce this isolation may seem to some quixotic; even to the members of our team, all of whom have been deeply involved in metropolitan problem-solving for years, the dimension, the complexities, and the problems of the human settlement that is the metropolis seem at times incomprehensible or beyond redemption.

Yet we are convinced from our investigations as well as our instincts that people, individually and in groups, will continue to labor towards and make significant progress in lowering the barriers which isolate people. Their efforts may be enhanced or retarded by looming crises of food, fuel and energy shortages. The increasing competition for scarce resources is causing a duplication of New York City's problems in other cities and metropolitan areas. Traumatic readjustments will have to be made, with old, inappropriate solutions giving way to models based on cooperation and creativity. The Chinese definition of crisis — that of "dangerous opportunity" — may never have been as applicable as it is at this point in our history.

None of the strategies in this report are a substitute for desegregation. The report itself is in no way intended to be used as another tool for equivocating, delaying or rationalizing resistance to school desegregation. It is meant, instead, to be a guide for those who seek knowledge about the metropolitan area and a sense of the interrelatedness of its various systems and forces so that they may more effectively work to reduce isolation. The participants' essays are concise descriptions supported by references, which provide overviews of some of the most perplexing aspects of metropolitanism. We have also developed simple models for viewing the metropolitan area as a whole, one system, and a manual for those seeking action strategies for reducing isolation within it.

The MEDALS team (see Project Participants, pp. 151) visited a number of metropolitan areas, did a considerable literature search and made a detailed study of five metropolitan areas: Boston, Massachusetts; Louisville/Jefferson County, Kentucky;

Wilmington/New Castle County, Delaware; Miami/Dade County, Florida; and Atlanta, Georgia. A number of meetings were held, involving various team members, culminating in a two-day meeting of the full team last fall. While there has been consensus on many matters, there has been considerable disagreement on others. The result is not an integrated "solution" to isolation, but various studied views. The editors, in defining isolation and developing the models and a guide, have drawn heavily from the writings and discussions of the team members. But the contents of chapters I, II and III must be considered the work of the editors for which they take full responsibility.

We are indebted to the College of Education, Georgia State University, for its support and cooperation throughout this project, and especially to Dean Roy M. Hall. We are also appreciative of the help and advice given by the School of Urban Life of the University, in particular that of Dean William W. Nash. April Merriam, Patricia Carroll, and Cynthia Jones spent long hours patiently preparing and typing this manuscript, for which we are grateful.

While the project was made possible by a grant to the Education Commission of the States from the Ford Foundation, none of the views expressed herein are necessarily endorsed by the foundation nor by the commission. In addition we are grateful for the ideas and encouragement of the Ford Foundation's program officer Ralph G. Bohrson.

Finally, our thanks go to those people in cities all over the country who are currently working to reduce isolation, whose patience and perseverance will serve as the building blocks of a new and stronger metropolitan community, and especially to those who gave so generously of their time and energies in hopes that we might then help others to understand.

Forbes Bottomly
Allison Kitfield

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I: Isolation and Reduction of Isolation

Before developing ways to *reduce isolation* we must deal with the meaning of *isolation,* particularly with the social isolation which occurs as a result of or in association with the dynamics of metropolitan living. Our focus is upon social isolation which affects groups or individuals in such a manner as to limit or deny their access to and to bar their freedom to choose among the options which society offers to a majority of its citizens. We are particularly concerned with the interaction among forces which tend to increase the separation of black and brown city people from white suburban people, and its resulting effect upon the schools. A common view of isolation is that of minority groups being isolated by discriminatory, majority action, but in this study we perceive the effects of isolation as cutting two ways — that is, isolation restricts members of the majority from full development and exercise of their potentialities as well.

Isolation may be defined in simple terms, yet as a phenomenon it is complex and dynamic. According to *Webster's Third New International Dictionary, isolation* is the action of setting apart from others, the segregation of a group of organisms from related forms in such a manner as to prevent crossing. Aubert (1965) has termed it ". . . no more than the obverse side of the basic sociological phenomenon — human interaction" (p. 13). *Isolation* is often used interchangeably with *segregation*, defined by *Webster's* as the separation of "a race, class or ethnic group by enforced or voluntary residence in a restricted area, by barriers to social intercourse, by separate educational facilities, or by other discriminatory means." We have viewed these terms contextually. One may live in segregated housing by choice, and if he has open access to job options, the availability of transportation and the freedom to pursue cultural opportunities, the term *isolation* may be an inaccurate portrayal.

While recognizing that in a modern metropolitan setting there are many barriers to interaction which deserve examination, we focus primarily on those which isolate ethnic groups, especially along racial lines. An *ethnic group,* according to Gordon (1964), is ". . . any group which is defined or set off by race, religion, or national origin or some combination of these categories" (p. 27)." *Ethnicity*," he says, "refers to a sense of belonging to an ethnic group, a sense of peoplehood. *Peoplehood* is an identification with the past, present and future of a group: These are the 'people' of my ancestors, therefore they are my people, and they will be the people of my children and their children" (p. 29).

Ethnic barriers to interaction have been erected by human societies since antiquity, when an individual's role, identity, security and even survival resided in a family, a clan and a primary group. A group's identity and security in turn rested on a common language and value system, a set of religious beliefs, rituals and a piece of geography. The compulsion to place signs and markers, to erect fences and walls, to establish jurisdictional barriers either real or implied in order to delimit a group's identity or "turf" has been described as innate, and protection of territory against encroachment by competing groups has been historically accompanied by conflict and bloodshed (Ardrey, 1966).

In the course of more modern history, clans and tribes have been inexorably combined and recombined into national groups with national identities established as overriding loyalties. Industrialization, science and technology, with their resultant specialization, brought for many urbanization, separation, dislocation and tension.

Early sociologists saw in this process a serious value-wrenching which pitted the family against the world. *Gesellschaft versus Gemeinschaft,* as Tonnies (1887/1951) described it, set the sacred versus the secular and simple, country folk living versus complex, city living. This classical sociological view was often framed in despair at the loss of identity, interpersonal commitments, emotional attachment and internal discipline, and at the growth of alienation or normlessness as populations shifted from rural to urban environments.

This same view also holds that there is a pattern of social disorganization associated with the human ecology of modern cities, represented as a cycle of immigration, ghettoization and suburbanization. The ghettoization stage in the cycle is abetted by two powerful, interrelated forces: the force of ethnicity which comes from within and the force of discrimination which comes from without.

These forces have been especially significant in the formation of the cities of America. Discrimination against religion, language and cultural traits of white ethnic immigrants to America, fortified by a desire to preserve old traditions, caused the formation of first-generation ethnic enclaves. Ironically, this discrimination reached a height during the first quarter of this century in the intensive "Americanization" movement which, zealously facilitated by the public schools, directed its efforts toward stripping immigrants of native cultures and transforming them via a "melting pot" into model Anglo-Saxon Americans. Through their acceptance of this transformation dispersal and suburbanization became possible for succeeding generations of white ethnics.

Racial minorities, however, unable to cast off their racial characteristics, have been persistently denied full-fledged participation in American economic, political and social life. The United States Civil Rights Commission in its various publications has documented the discriminatory action underlying this denial. In *Equal Opportunities in Suburbia* the commission (1974) details the extent to which both governmental and private actions have contributed to racial isolation in the metropolitan areas through policies on housing, jobs, zoning, education, urban renewal, subsidies and more recently, through soft enforcement of the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1968. In *Twenty Years After Brown*, the commission (1975) describes the growing racial separation of the city and suburban schools and concludes that ". . . without positive action, segregation in urban areas, both North and South, appears likely to increase, and urban-suburban racial divisions will be intensified" (p. 88).

The separation of suburban residents who are mostly white and affluent from central city residents who are black, Spanish, Asian and often poor has been seen as related to serious social pathology (Clark, 1967), high incidences of mental illness (Grier, 1968) and dangerous hostility (National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, 1968).

A more modern view of the urban environment, although recognizing the realities of change, stress and disorganization portrayed by classical sociologists, sees resilient people restructuring new community patterns. If places of residence are chosen because of discrimination or because of ethnic, class, cultural or social characteristics of a neighborhood, there is also an increasing tendency for individuals to select a "community base" because of values, institutions, interests, occupations and associations (Bensman, 1975, p. 2; see also Cox, 1966). This community base extends beyond the geographical confines of a primary residential neighborhood to include secondary interrelationships. New community organizations, cutting across neighborhood boundaries, often spring up to deal with generic problems of urbanization such as crime and ethnic tension (Bensman, p. 3). Ethnic interests become politicized as ethnicity is rekindled, even among second and third generation whites who had appeared to have been assimilated into the Anglo-Saxon mainstream. Ethnicity becomes an organizational springboard for focusing upon issues and the "melting pot" ideal is set aside as unrealistic, if not deceptive.

Admission of the failure to attain a melting-pot society is to a large degree an admission of the reality of pervasive discrimination, especially racial discrimination in America. This admission, buttressed by the forces of ethnicity, has stimulated a renewed interest in using the concept of pluralism to describe American society. Since World War II the civil rights movement has to a great extent been a black-led movement aimed at ending racial discrimination. Collective action through demonstrations and legal proceedings galvanized a sense of racial identity and self-determination, especially among the youthful black population.

Some minority leaders have abandoned the goal of desegregation as futile, even demeaning, and concentrated instead upon the development of ethnic educational, political, economic and cultural potentialities (Bell, 1975). This movement has been enhanced by the realities of the shifting balance of political power in the cities. The use of new power by black political leaders to forge coalitions and to make tradeoffs which benefit the black population has forced a redistribution of fiscal resources. Nationally, this growing ethnic political power was demonstrated in the 1976 Presidential elections.

Accompanying these movements has been the growth of scholarly work in minority history and culture in America, black history and culture in particular. Unlike other ethnic minorities who have carried their cultural identities from other lands or from tribal bases, black Americans have developed a culture under conditions of pervasive historical discrimination. According to Jackson, black culture is thus unique, a dual culturation which has emerged on the one hand from persevering remnants of diverse African civilizations, from the patterns of survival under slavery, from the struggles for existence during the Jim Crow laws of post-reconstruction and the rural and urban exigencies since that period, and on the other hand, from the partial adoption of and adaptations to the white American culture. The result is a synthesis, the characteristics of which are creativity, flexibility and adaptability. This amalgam exhibits a highly effective communication system with complex verbal, facial and body expressions, influential religion and extensive literature and art forms. It has drawn from and contributed to science and technology (Jackson, 1974). For many Americans a portion of this process has been revealed in the powerful television dramatization of Alex Haley's book, *Roots* (Haley, 1976).

The development and strengthening of black awareness appears to have given impetus to other ethnic groups to define and redefine their particular cultural heritages, and thus to broaden the concept of pluralism in America.

Pluralism is defined in *Webster's* as a "state of society in which members of diverse ethnic, racial, religious or social groups maintain an autonomous participation in and development of their traditional cultures or special interest within the confines of a common civilization." *Cultural pluralism* denotes the right of ethnic groups to preserve and practice their cultural heritage, and even perhaps, the desirability of their doing so. This heritage finds expression in religion, folkway, art, customs, traditions and community patterns. However, according to Gordon (1964), the real foundation of modern ethnic makeup is *structural pluralism*, the pattern of informal, intimate, affective social relationships within an ethnic group which holds members to the primary group (p. 159). Projecting present trends, Gordon predicts America's social structure will consist of ethnic subcommunities in which primary group relationships are confined, with abundant formal and less personal secondary group interactions outside those communities, on the job, in the school and on the civic scene (p. 264).

Thus, while a pluralistic structure has potentialities for increased isolation in primary group relationships, it also enables the reducing of isolation through secondary group relationships. If there are forces of ethnicity which draw persons to the group for security, identity and intimacy, there are also forces of the mainstream world which beckon them beyond ethnicity to participate, interact and exercise, the economic, political and educational options available outside the group. It seems to us then that forces of ethnicity, which provide security and identity but which may also lead to greater separation and perhaps threaten to balkanize metropolitan areas, must be balanced with forces which enable or promote the reduction of isolation and if necessary, require it in order to lower discriminatory barriers.

The tendency for separation to increase has been noted with concern by scholars. According to Pettigrew (1969), counteracting forces are constantly needed to correct myths and stereotypes developed in isolation, to moderate divergent value development and to keep communications open among groups so as to offset the growth of vested interests within groups which press for continued or greater separation (p. 17). This echoes Allport's (1954) observation that perceived differences between people, easily exaggerated by separation, lead to the possibilities of real or imaginary conflicts (p. 18).

Counteracting efforts may involve increasing the freedom of individuals to pursue their unique interests or talents even if doing so runs against internal ethnic pressures or the limiting, discriminatory pressures of the majority. A model of pluralism which respects the right of ethnic groups to preserve communal identity and to practice their values must also guarantee the right of each individual to make choices which may be counter to that identity or those values. (See Jackson, Chapter IV, regarding this individual versus group dilemma.)

It is our aim to examine ways to reduce isolation in the metropolitan setting, especially in the metropolitan school setting. The term *reduction of isolation* rather than *assimilation, desegregation* or *integration* is used to describe the strategy. *Reduction of isolation* is the act or process of reducing, with the goal of eliminating, the barriers which restrict or limit groups or individuals from equality of access into all aspects of society which the majority may enjoy. In seeking ways to reduce isolation we recognize the validity of ethnicity and honor rights of groups and individuals to ethnic communality. At the same time we have sought strategies which allow and even encourage groups and individuals to explore the personal, educational, political and economic options which are available to the majority in the mainstream of American life and to exercise those which meet their interests and capabilities.

We have avoided the use of the phrase *equality of opportunity*. Recognizing that the concept of equal opportunity is utilitarian and based in a deep and pervasive value system, we are cognizant of critics who are increasingly questioning its relevance in a time of growing pluralistic awareness and decreasing resources. A recent study for the Carnegie Council on Children concluded that the view of America as a land of equal opportunity for all has hindered efforts to aid minorities. According to assistant director Richard DeLone there is a caste system and a class system in America which adversely affects minorities. The caste system is determined by birth and the class system by achievement, and both are more determined by where and how an individual starts than by anything else he or she does, including getting educated (DeLone). These findings echo those of Jencks (1972) who finds little equality on the American scene and concludes that the educational system plays a rather insignificant role as an equalizer of economic opportunities for individuals (pp. 253-255). Even the doctrine of equality of opportunity is seen by Schaar (1974) as a "product of a competitive and fragmented society . . . (which) extends the market place mentality to all spheres of life":

> It views the whole of human relations as a contest in which each man competes with his fellows for scarce goods, a contest in which there is never enough for everybody and where one man's gain is usually another's loss (p. 244).

He believes that adherence to an equal opportunity policy rather than moving toward democratic equality which recognizes the differences in needs, capabilities and opportunity, actually works to increase inequalities. He does not, however, argue for an equality of conditions but suggests the following fundamental proposition:

> No member of the community shall be denied the basic conditions necessary for the fullest possible participation in the common life, insofar as those conditions can be provided for by public action and through the use of public resources (p. 244).

We are persuaded by the research findings and the logic of these critics. For our purposes the terms *equality of access* and *open access* seem more appropriate as direction indicators for reduction of isolation. It is one thing for every person to have an open ticket allowing entrance without discrimination to the economic, political, cultural, recreational, residential and educational arenas of our society. It is another to be able to participate once there. Our concept of access includes the assurance that each person is not only free to enter the arenas but is provided with the basics needed to participate once inside.

Nor can we stop there, for to participate one must not merely play the game according to rules that others have invented, the person must be entitled to equally participate in developing those rules. When we speak of equality of access we mean that society's options are open for all to exercise, that all have a basic preparation for participation and that there is an equality in defining the aspects of society which are valued.

We strongly believe that schools as institutionalized education have a responsibility to provide learners with an understanding of available options and to prepare them with the skills and knowledge to make intelligent choices amongst these. But we recognize that other significant segments of our society also have a responsibility to eliminate obstacles to equal access and participation. As will be seen in the next chapter, we view this responsibility as an interaction of subsystems within a metropolitan system.

When applied to schools the meaning of *reduction of isolation* is the act of reducing barriers that because of discrimination or ethnicity prohibit, limit or discourage persons from making and pursuing intelligent choices amongst the educational options in the metropolitan area. The goal of *reduction of isolation* in the metropolitan school system is to give each student a means of understanding the many possibilities that the world offers, to provide learning strategies which will help the student make choices among those possibilities and then to assist him or her in realizing them.

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In this article Derreck Bell states that black leadership must listen to what black parents want and then design educational strategies which utilize constitutional rights and political leverage to achieve equal educational opportunities, regardless of whether or not desegregation is involved. Massachusetts Representative Mel King elaborated on this theme in a paper delivered at the Center for Urban Education Conference, Harvard University, June 6, 1974. In it, he said that black people are no longer interested in integration if that means assimilation, because assimilation means powerlessness. He advocated an education geared to the unique needs of black children in which black adult role models predominate, power is shared and children are involved in the improvement of the community. The result would be the development of group power necessary both for the gaining of inclusion into the political and economic arenas and for changing them.

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II: Models For Reduction of Isolation In Metropolitan Areas

In our search for ways to reduce isolation we have been struck with the complexities of metropolitan areas. A modern metropolitan area is a sprawling, throbbing congregation of hundreds of thousands of individuals who have fashioned a vast array of overlapping technical and social *systems*, each of which affects every other through various *forces*.

Sometimes these systems are in harmony, oftentimes they are in conflict. Sometimes they are moved by their various forces toward the resolution of human problems, sometimes they are moved away; often the very act of resolving problems for some increases those of others. And as has been demonstrated time and again, what appeared to have been a solution at one time in history later proved to be dysfunctional.

We have sought to reduce this complexity to simple models in order to visualize how isolation may be affected by the essential interactions among identifiable systems. The Greek urban planner Doxiadēs (1968) characterized a city as a molecule with five elements, or "atoms": *nature, man, society, structures* and *networks*. "If we break this molecule, we no longer have a city," he said (p. 336). The validity of this elegant analogy extends to an entire metropolitan area. The search for a balance among these five elements is at the heart of metropolitan planning. To consider one without the others leads us to the chaos and violence which we witness in so many of our regional developments.

Yet we cannot completely accept the molecular concept for our purposes. In a modern metropolitan area the "atoms" do not rotate about a nucleus in a precise manner. Instead there is constant rearrangement of nature, structures and networks by man and his society. Having little incentive for seeking the harmony that Doxiadēs envisioned, the systems and forces appear to conspire to increase the isolation of people. We have seen the effects of governmental policy and private enterprise upon isolation in housing, transportation, land use and industrial location (U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1974). We have also witnessed the proliferation of local suburban governments in metropolitan regions which, in their simultaneous desire to keep out unwanted persons and to attract a large tax base, have jealously guarded local autonomy and competed with other jurisdictions (see Simms, Chapter IV).

But for every force there is a counterforce. Despite the forces toward disharmony in a metropolitan area there are other forces at work to reduce isolation. Some of the most remarkable of these have grown from the leadership of single individuals. Our history is now rich with the descriptions of the leadership of individuals and groups who in various ways have worked to make major and minor gains in civil rights. In every community there are activists, leaders, organized groups and ad hoc groups, legislators, judges, volunteers, school people, plaintiffs and lawyer advocates, who counter isolating forces and exert pressures to reduce isolation. Since these are the generators of force, the source of power, we call them *vehicles*.

Analytic Model

To portray the relationships among certain systems and the forces which work to increase or decrease isolation we have constructed a simple graphic model (see Figure 1 with its subelements shown in Figures 2, 3 and 4). Our model has the following elements:

MEGASYSTEM - The world system with its subsystems. We have only to consider the impact of a Mideast oil embargo

Figure 1.
Example of forces at work among major systems and subsystems which affect isolation.

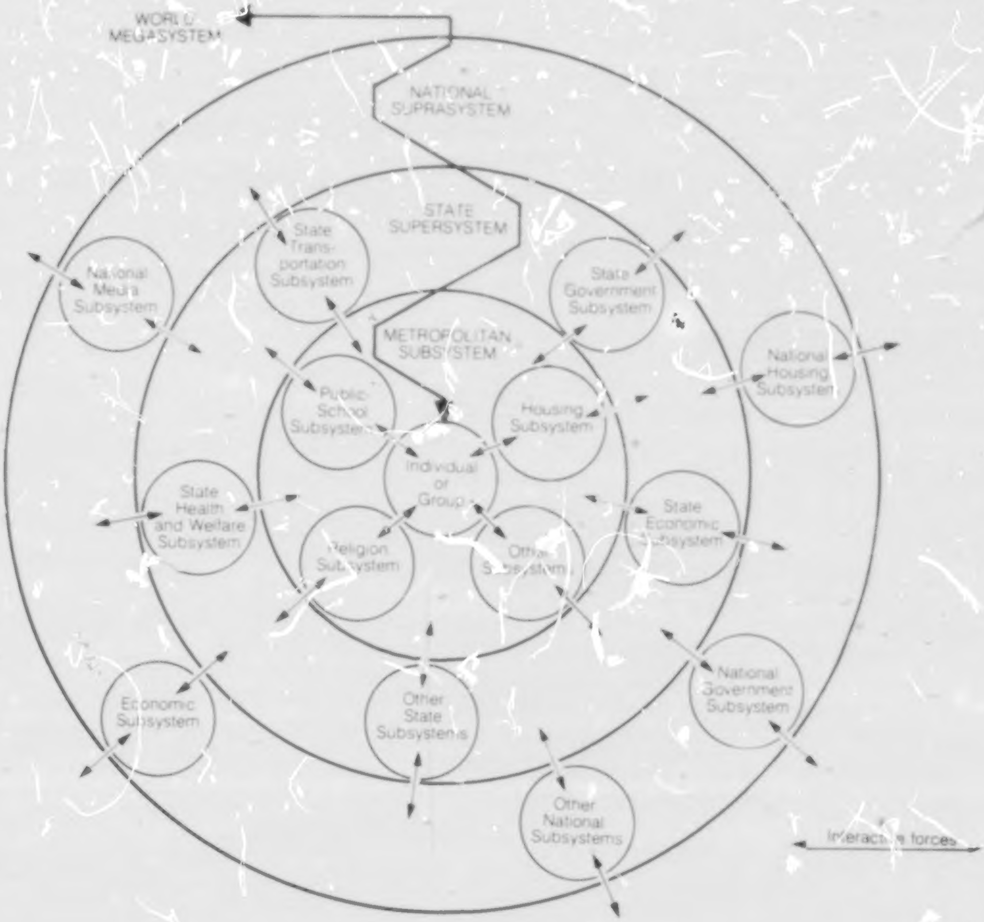
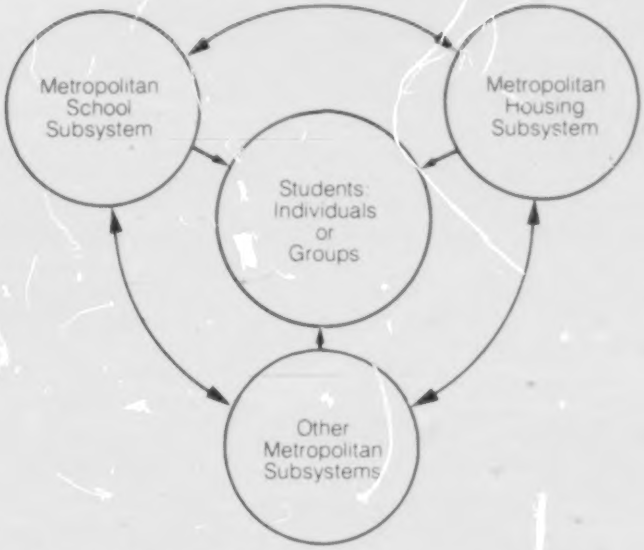

WORLD MEGASYSTEM
NATIONAL SUPRASYSTEM
STATE SUPERSYSTEM
METROPOLITAN SUBSYSTEM
National Media Subsystem
State Trans-portation Subsystem
State Government Subsystem
National Housing Subsystem
Public School Subsystem
Housing Subsystem
Individual or Group
State Health and Welfare Subsystem
State Economic Subsystem
Religion Subsystem
Other Subsystems
Economic Subsystem
Other State Subsystems
National Government Subsystem
Other National Subsystems
Interactive forces

Figure 2.
Example of forces at work among metropolitan subsystems.*


Metropolitan School Subsystem
Metropolitan Housing Subsystem
Students: Individuals or Groups
Other Metropolitan Subsystems

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*For a more detailed model see Allan Ornstein, Race and Politics in School/Community Organizations (Pacific Palisades, Calif.: Goodyear Publishing Company, 1974), p. 27.

to imagine the effects of the world system on isolation in any U. S. metropolitan area.

SUPRASYSTEM - The national system and its subsystems. The Federal Courts, the Justice Department, the Congress, the national economy, media and other subsystems have all had a profound influence on both the reduction of isolation and its preservation.

SUPERSYSTEM - The state system and its subsystems. State government, legislative processes, courts, law enforcement, transportation and other subsystems have historically been involved in the isolation of groups.

METROPOLITAN SYSTEM - The defined metropolitan area, with its subsystems of local government, housing, transportation, public schools, private schools, higher education, economics, politics, health and welfare and media and community groups, among others, has played an important part in matters of isolation and its reduction (see Figure 2).

One may readily see from an examination of this interaction why the complaint is made that the public schools have been asked to remedy social ills for which they have not been or cannot be held responsible. The complaint is only partially justified since the forces at work interlock many systems, including the school system, in the liability for isolation as well as the responsibility for its reduction. The analytic model demonstrates that if major, long-term gains are to be made in reducing isolation a systems approach is necessary.

Those subsystems listed provide an example of the way in which forces working against the reduction of isolation and those working toward it impact upon the public school system. As an illustration of the interrelated impact, let us use the following example. A minority resident of a city who, because of discrimination, has no job available nearby (economic subsystem) and no transportation at hand with which to travel to the suburbs where a job may be obtainable (transportation subsystem), is therefore obliged to accept welfare (health and welfare subsystem), and to live in public housing or deteriorated private housing (housing subsystem) in a community often effectively cut off from the rest of the city by freeways (transportation subsystem) or other barriers. Because the housing is segregated (housing subsystem) this person's children must go to a segregated neighborhood school (public school system) where the curriculum is traditionally oriented toward college entrance standards (higher education subsystem) and where there is a high dropout and kickout rate (public school subsystem) with large numbers of youth out of school and out of work (economic subsystem). These conditions precipitate individual isolation which is manifested in a high incidence of delinquency and places pressure on the public safety and juvenile services (local government subsystems).

In hopes of counteracting this situation, ministers of many denominations (religious subsystem) put pressure on the school board (public school subsystem) to desegregate the schools. As a result of desegregation some white parents withdraw their children from the public schools and enroll them in private schools (private education subsystem). A committee of business leaders urges the schools to balance the curriculum with more job-oriented courses (ecnomic subsystem).

Finally obtaining a job through the enforcement of a company's affirmative action program (economic subsystem), this person earns enough to purchase a home in the suburbs (housing subsystem) with the help of local and federal enforcers of civil rights and open housing laws (local government subsystem and national system).

Metropolitan School Subsystem

As indicated earlier, for purposes of illustration we have designated all metropolitan public schools as part of one subsystem. This metropolitan subsystem may have a single administrative unit, such as in Jacksonville/Duval County, Florida, or it may be composed of a myriad of separate administrative school districts, such as those found in the Boston metropolitan area. If the latter is the situation a metropolitan public school subsystem may be portrayed graphically as in Figure 3.

Boundary lines separating school districts are effective barriers which prohibit, restrain or discourage reduction of isolation. In order to mount forces which enable, promote or require reduction of

Figure 3.
Example of forces at work among districts of a metropolitan school subsystem toward the reduction of isolation or against it.

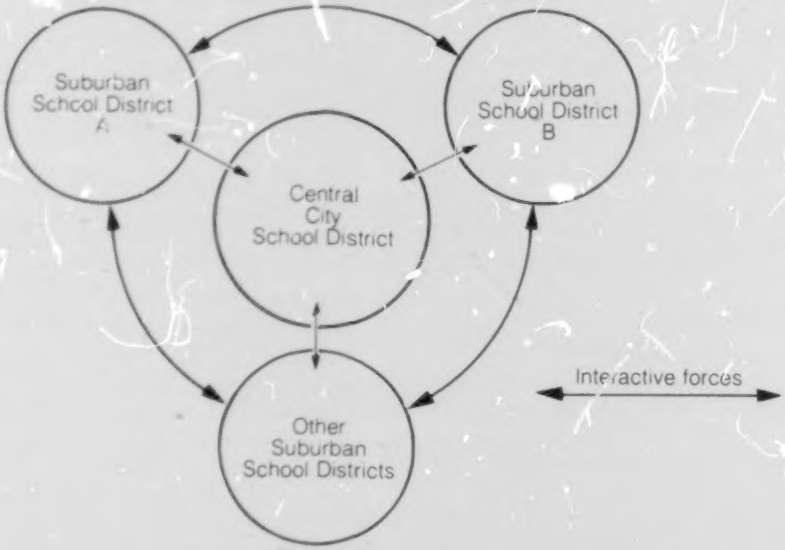
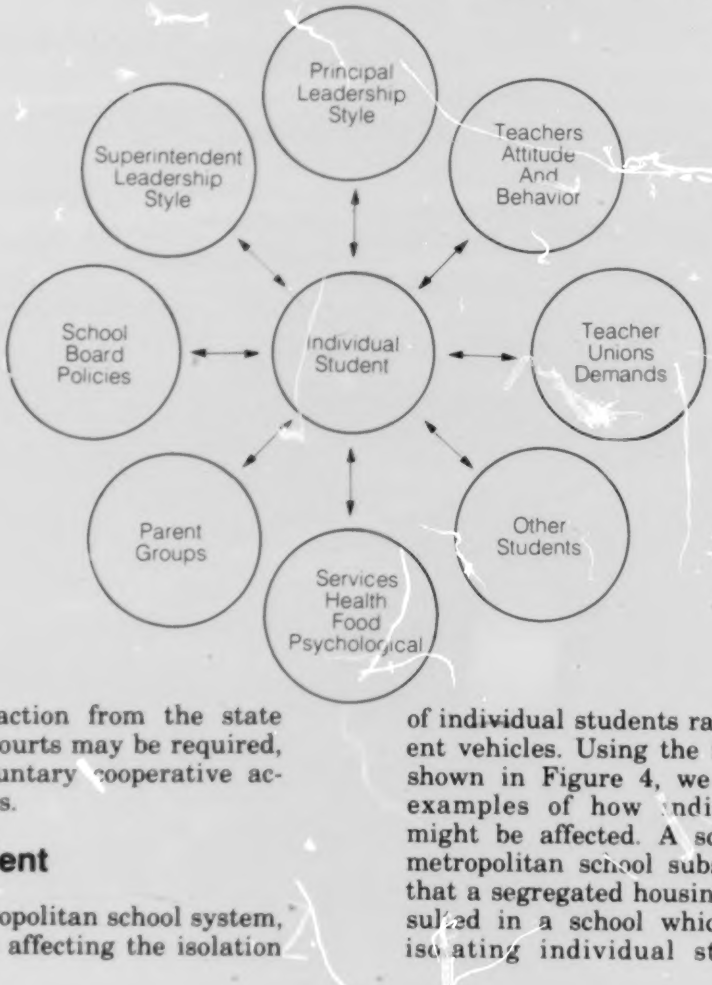

Suburban School District A
Suburban School District B
Central City School District
Other Suburban School Districts
Interactive forces

Figure 4.
Example of forces at work among various vehicles and the individual student toward reduction of isolation or against it.


Principal Leadership Style
Superintendent Leadership Style
Teachers Attitude And Behavior
School Board Policies
Individual Student
Teacher Unions Demands
Parent Groups
Services Health Food Psychological
Other Students

isolation, official action from the state legislature or the courts may be required, in addition to voluntary cooperative action by local leaders.

Individual Student

Within this metropolitan school system, a number of forces affecting the isolation of individual students radiate from different vehicles. Using the interactive forces shown in Figure 4, we can hypothesize examples of how individual students might be affected. A school board in a metropolitan school subsystem may find that a segregated housing pattern has resulted in a school which is segregated, isolating individual students in that school. The board may state the reduction of isolation as a goal and adopt policies to carry out this goal. The enactment of a transfer program, supported by staff training, curricular change and free transportation, will open the door for at least some individual students to exercise broader options and thus reduce their isolation. Or, the board may stand solidly on the "neighborhood school" policy, disclaiming responsibility since the cause of isolation is housing. Within the school another vehicle, a principal, may either demonstrate open, accepting leadership regarding a pluralistic student body or use devices such as tracking or culturally biased testing to sort out and isolate students. Within classrooms teachers, by their attitudes, may show disdain for students of a particular ethnic or racial group and consciously or unconsciously, directly or subtly, use pedagogy and curriculum to negatively reinforce their differences; in the positive case teachers may organize and manage their classrooms to provide each individual student with a learning experience which is unbiased and positively supportive of differences.

Other Subsystems

We have shown how the subsystems of a metropolitan area interact in Figure 2. However, descriptions of a number of these subsystems and their interactions are more fully presented in Chapter III.

Vehicles

Within and among the systems are vehicles, individuals and groups that wield power to affect isolation. They are the generators of forces. Such individuals or groups may represent institutions or they may be lay persons privately pursuing their efforts, either formally organized or ad hoc. Because in the final analysis it is people who make things happen, vehicles are the critical components of any model which deals with the reduction of isolation. The following are examples of vehicles as we perceive them:

The judges. When frustrated by what they believe to be unjust, isolating acts, citizens have often used the courts in a search for relief. State courts, whose elected judges have been responsive to a controlling majority, have often upheld injustices perpetrated by that majority. Federal judges, although more removed from the electorate, were slow to strike down official discriminatory practices prior to 1954. In the intervening years, however, federal courts have been powerful forces for reduction of isolation. Individual plaintiffs have increasingly used the courts for redress of grievances, particularly when legislative bodies and administrative organizations have failed to act.

The legislature. State legislative bodies have in the past both enacted discriminatory laws which have prohibited, restrained or discouraged efforts to reduce isolation and enacted laws enabling, promoting or requiring efforts to reduce isolation. Congress, as a national legislature, has historically been reluctant to interpret its power in such a way as to interfere with "states rights" but in recent years has enacted civil rights legislation to aid in the reduction of isolation.

The boards, councils, commissions and other local governmental bodies which have legislative and governing powers. These bodies have been highly responsive to local prevailing opinion and as such have, with notable exceptions, strongly resisted efforts to reduce isolation, often forcing persons into court to obtain relief.

The administrations. The national administration, through presidential leadership, through enforcement of civil rights laws by federal departments, and by the development and implementation of rules, regulations and guidelines, has vast powers to influence efforts to reduce isolation. How well it uses its leadership potential and its enforcement powers determines its effectiveness as a vehicle. The same is true on the state and local administrative levels: positive administrative leadership has helped numerous communities peaceably reduce isolation, while negative leadership has delayed, obstructed and undermined such efforts.

The community-action groups. Community groups across the country, some of which have been local units of national groups, others locally organized, have both helped and hindered efforts to reduce isolation. Based upon their particular philosophy they have spanned the spectrum from ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights) in Boston to CQIE (Coalition for Quality Integrated Education) in Seattle;

from the local KKK to the local ACLU. Tactics of some community groups have been demogogical and violent, those of others peaceful, educational and adhering to due process.

The political coalitions. The gain of black political power through population shifts, voter registration and urbanization has, in a number of metropolitan areas, led to a redistribution of political power and resulting black leverage to bring some redistribution of economic resources. Among other effects this redistribution has taken the form of a balancing of the racial make-up in public service jobs and in access of minority contractors to public contracts.

The educators. The teachers and administrators who devise and use curriculum, pedagogy and materials wield a potent force for aiding the reduction of isolation or for obstructing it. The relationship of the schools to the community and the extent to which the community shares in educational decision making are significant factors in educators' effectiveness as vehicles.

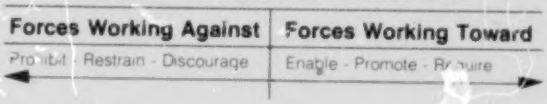
The business, labor and media leadership groups. Within every metropolitan area there are commercial and industrial groups, the leadership of which is influential in decreasing or increasing isolation. Among other positive activities, it may promote affirmative action in hiring, support efforts to carry out court orders, provide organizational talent to various school systems, and use the media in a moderate, educational way to gain support. Or it may be negative or intimidated, withdraw support, use its own power to thwart isolation-reducing activities and/or use the media to exaggerate problems and undermine efforts for reducing isolation.

The regional planning groups. In metropolitan areas there are regional planning commissions which, armed with federal incentives for the membership of local metropolitan governments, attempt to bring planning balance to what is often chaotic development. These seldom have much direct authority since the autonomy of local jurisdictions is highly protected. Yet they have considerable indirect authority as they use the forces of federal guidelines and environmental laws, of persuasion and of advocacy planning to overcome the competitive and isolating nature of local governments.

Forces

The forces in our models are represented as (a) those which work against the reduction of isolation, and (b) those which work toward the reduction of isolation. Graphically portrayed, they form a force field as in Figure 5.

Figure 5.
Field of forces working toward and against the reduction of isolation.



Forces Working Against the Reduction of Isolation

Forces working against the reduction of isolation may be described as those which are officially discriminatory (*de jure*) and those which are unofficially discriminatory and nondiscriminatory (*de facto*). Obviously a force's effectiveness must be judged in terms of the situation in which it is at work and not necessarily by where we have placed it on the force field.

Examples of forces that prohibit the reduction of isolation are:

> The existence of public laws, ordinances, policies or official practices which discriminate against any group or any member of a group because of race or ethnicity. (Official discrimination such as *de jure* segregation is unconstitutional but, if unchallenged, it may remain operative).
>
> The use of exclusionary clauses, rules or practices of private individuals or organizations which discriminate unofficially against any group or member of a group because of race or ethnicity.
>
> The use of action to which isolative forces may be traced but which itself does not constitute direct official discriminatory action. An example is *de facto* school segregation, which is often blamed on segregated housing patterns and thus considered not the fault of the school boards nor their responsibility to remedy. (But the failure to act to remedy such a situation may be considered an official force to prohibit reduction of isolation if such failure can be shown to be purposeful).
>
> The existence of laws, policies or practices which, although not motivated by dis-

criminatory intent, nevertheless have the effect of preventing crossing. A boundary between two school districts, established by law at a time when there were no racial or ethnic divisions, may at a later date become an effective barrier to segregate students when one of the districts becomes majority black and the other district majority white.

Examples of forces that *restrain* efforts to reduce isolation are:

The prevalence of exclusionary real estate practices such as steering, blockbusting, redlining for mortgages and control of multiple listing services.

The enactment by local governments of zoning and land-use ordinances which prohibit the construction of moderate- or low-cost housing.

The location of low-income public housing in such a way as to increase the isolation of residents and students.

The use of examinations which are culturally biased or which lack a strong relationship to performance as prerequisites for entry into unions, businesses or colleges.

Threats of violence or property loss if an individual takes a job, moves into a neighborhood or joins a club.

Internal ethnic group pressure upon individuals which restrains them from venturing forth into the mainstream world.

The existence of established boundaries which may be crossed legally, but in practice may be crossed only with unusual sacrifices or expense. An example is the common requirement that parents wishing to send their students to a school district other than the one in which they reside must either pay tuition and transportation costs or lie about residence.

A failure to enforce civil rights laws, court orders and affirmative action policies.

Tradition or practices such as that which enshrines the concept of "neighborhood schools" or that of ability grouping, which results in racial tracking.

The existence of inequities in resources which result when the quality of services is a function of the taxable wealth of a governmental unit.

Leadership which, while it recognizes the existence of isolation, is insensitive, negative or fearful, fails to act unless forced and then does so only sluggishly.

The forces of unionism which insist upon personnel practices that thwart affirmative action, such as using seniority for transfers, layoffs and promotions.

The forces of teachers, often buttressed by unionism, which press for culturally biased suspension and expulsion rules.

Examples of forces that *discourage* the reduction of isolation are:

The practice of overt and subtle prejudice.

The use of tokenism.

The lackadaisical or inconsistent enforcement of civil rights laws and affirmative action policies.

The systematic suspension or expulsion of a higher proportion of students of one race than another.

A reliance upon culturally biased tests as indicators of progress.

The imposition of rules and regulations which make it difficult for those seeking to reduce isolation. Obligating a parent to fill out numerous forms, follow complex instructions and make unusual behavioral guarantees in order to enroll a child in a voluntary racial transfer program is an example.

Transportation which is difficult or expensive to use.

The media practice of exaggerating conflict and perpetuating myths which raise fears and anger.

The employment of political power in a way which polarizes the population along ethnic lines.

Pressures from within an ethnic group which discourage students from participating in activities with other groups.

The rationalizations of leadership which place higher priorities on activities other than isolation-reducing ones, thereby delaying decisions, failing to act or acting only reluctantly.

Forces Working Toward the Reduction of Isolation

Examples of forces that *enable* the reduction of isolation are:

The enactment of open housing laws.

The passage of legislation allowing students to cross school district boundaries.

The approval of policies allowing voluntary racial transfers.

The provision in policy for teaching about the history, contributions and culture of minority groups.

The formation of multi-ethnic citizen's advisory committees.

The attainment and use of political power to gain trade-offs which improve the status of those isolated.

The showing of positive leadership in business, government and community arenas that gives verbal support to reduction of isolation.

Examples of forces that *promote* the reduction of isolation are:

The enactment of laws which provide: incentives to individuals, businesses, labor and government for training, hiring and encouraging other opportunities which reduce isolation; paid transportation for school children who participate in ethnic transfer programs; state payments to school districts for accepting students across district boundaries for purposes of reducing isolation, with no loss to the sending district.

The implementation of affirmative action programs.

The desegregation of personnel.

The involvement of multi-ethnic citizen groups in decision making.

The enactment of laws which equitably raise and distribute tax monies to provide adequate services to all regardless of their place of residence.

The development of magnet schools which attract multi-ethnic student bodies and which provide a wide choice of educational programs.

The passage of legislation that consolidates school districts into units which are metropolitan in scope or contain a cross section of metropolitan educational options open to all.

The provision of compensatory catch-up education to those who have been deprived of a chance to obtain adequate education.

The development of programs which ensure that all schools have reasonably safe and secure environments.

The demonstration of positive, action-oriented leadership.

Examples of forces that *require* reduction of isolation are:

The rendering of court orders which have sought to remedy violations of the constitutional rights of individuals (i.e., federal court rulings on discrimination in public schools, on racial exclusion from private schools and on discrimination in location of and tenant assignment in public housing) and state court rulings prohibiting the raising and distributing of tax revenues in a way that discriminates against persons on the basis of place of residence.

The passage of civil rights laws by Congress and by some state legislatures along with the rules, regulations and means of enforcing them.

The enactment of policies and ordinances of local governing boards and councils aimed at reducing isolation. The administrative implementation of laws, policies and regulations that are aimed at reducing isolation.

The practice of positive leadership that sets not only a high moral tone but vigorously insists upon enforcing and obeying the law.

These are only examples of forces; there are many more. In reality, of course, they do not fall as neatly into the force field as indicated. It may be justifiably argued that a force may, at different times or by different indicators, be seen as both enabling and promoting, or both discouraging and restraining. Some forces might be both positive and negative, by hastening the reduction of isolation in some respects and under some conditions, while interfering in other respects. For example, the enactment of "freedom of choice" policies may give some aggressive minority students a chance to expand their educational choices, but at the same time make it possible for majority students to escape from desegregated schools, thus contributing to the isolation of others. Because of these apparent ambiguities, we caution against the categorization of a force except as it is applied in a given situation.

Indicators of Progress

How does one determine whether a force is indeed moving toward the reduction of isolation? We find certain indicators useful. Although posed in terms of student isolation, they are useful in assessing isolation generally. Perhaps the most fundamental of the indicators is *knowledge*. If as a result of an enabling, promoting or requiring force a student gains knowledge (a) about other persons and other cultures and (b) about broader educational options and possibilities, there is an indication of movement toward reduction of isolation which can be measured by attitude tests and in terms of achievement. If a student comes into *contact* with individuals of another race through desegregation, movement is indicated toward reduction of isolation which can be measured, at least initially, in numbers of students. Special *compensating* efforts, extended to individual students who, because of past discrimination, have fallen behind the norm, are an indicator of movement toward reduction of isolation which can be measured in amounts and distribution of funds and resources. If as a result of a force *decision-making authority* is redistributed to give more power to those previously excluded from such authority by *de jure* or *de facto* discrimination, it represents a movement toward reduction of isolation which can be observed by the ratios of minorities in decision making jobs and in governance structures. If *fiscal resources* are redistributed, where necessary, to provide broader options for those previously limited by discriminatory denial of resources, it is an indicator of movement toward reduction of isolation which can be measured by accounting for the raising and distributing of monies.

If there is increased *equalization of status* so that ethnicity is diminished as a force used for ranking in a hierarchy of prestige, it is a movement toward reduction of isolation which can be measured, among other ways, in terms of the proportion of persons of different ethnicity in positions of prestige at all levels. If there is an *equalization of access* of students of one ethnicity with those of other ethnicities into the options which society offers, it is a movement toward reduction of isolation which may be judged in terms of proportions of persons entering and completing educational institutions and entering unions, professions, sports, cultural pursuits, artistic careers and managerial positions.

Summary of Analytic Model

Within major *systems* there are *vehicles* that generate forces to affect isolation. These forces may work against reduction of isolation or toward it. Within a metropolitan system there are a number of subsystems that also generate forces affecting isolation. This is true of the metropolitan school subsystem and the vehicles within that system. All of these systems and subsystems through their vehicles may either help or hinder efforts to reduce the isolation of individual students. A measure of the effectiveness of the forces to reduce isolation may be found in our indicators of progress.

Functional Model

The above described analytic model, while providing a glimpse into the complexity of the relationships among systems and the forces at work to affect isolation, does not provide an orderly view of how to proceed in reducing isolation in a metropolitan area. It shows forces and vehicles but not the strategies for harnessing them. What is needed is a functional model to visualize a developmental process for the reduction of isolation.

The following is such a model. Similar in context to conventional models of change, it has five major functional systems. The first is an *identifying* system, the second an *involving* one, the third a *strategizing* system, the fourth an *implementing* one and the fifth an *evaluating* system. The format of the model is adapted from Silvern's (1969) *Language for Optimizing Graphically Ordered Systems (LOGOS)* (see Figure 6.)

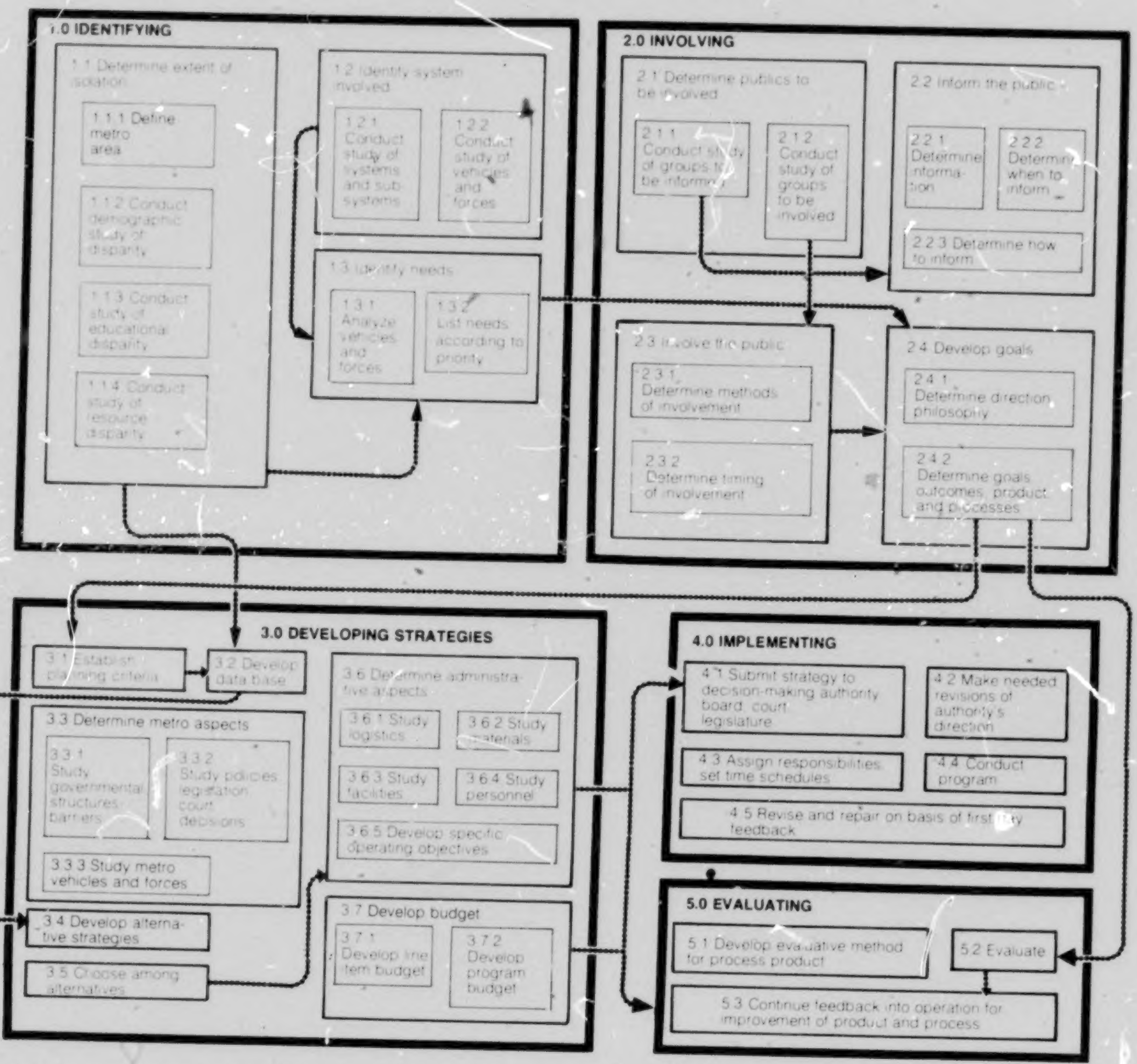
1.0 Identifying system. In this system a determination is made as to whether or not isolation exists and, if so, to what extent. We have suggested three functions to:

  1.1 Determine the extent of isolation.
    1.1.1 Define the limits of the metropolitan area under study.
    1.1.2 Conduct a demographic study of disparity within the defined area.
    1.1.3 Conduct a study of educational disparity within the area.
    1.1.4 Conduct a study of resource disparity in the area.

  1.2 Identify the systems, vehicles and forces involved.
    1.2.1 Conduct a study of the systems and subsystems.
    1.2.2 Conduct a study of the vehicles and the forces.

  1.3 Identify needs.
    1.3.1 Analyze systems, vehicles and forces in relationship to the extent of isolation.
    1.3.2 List according to priority needs for reduction of isolation.

Figure 6.
LOGOS Flow Chart for Metropolitan Reduction of Isolation


1.0 IDENTIFYING
1.1 Determine extent of isolation
1.1.1 Define metro area
1.1.2 Conduct demographic study of disparity
1.1.3 Conduct study of educational disparity
1.1.4 Conduct study of resource disparity
1.2 Identify system involved
1.2.1 Conduct study of systems and sub systems
1.2.2 Conduct study of vehicles and forces
1.3 Identify needs
1.3.1 Analyze vehicles and forces
1.3.2 List needs according to priority
2.0 INVOLVING
2.1 Determine publics to be involved
2.1.1 Conduct study of groups to be informed
2.1.2 Conduct study of groups to be involved
2.2 Inform the public
2.2.1 Determine information
2.2.2 Determine when to inform
2.2.3 Determine how to inform
2.3 Involve the public
2.3.1 Determine methods of involvement
2.3.2 Determine timing of involvement
2.4 Develop goals
2.4.1 Determine direction philosophy
2.4.2 Determine goals outcomes, product and processes
3.0 DEVELOPING STRATEGIES
3.1 Establish planning criteria
3.2 Develop data base
3.3 Determine metro aspects
3.3.1 Study governmental structures-barriers
3.3.2 Study policies legislation court decisions
3.3.3 Study metro vehicles and forces
3.4 Develop alternative strategies
3.5 Choose among alternatives
3.6 Determine administrative aspects
3.6.1 Study logistics
3.6.2 Study materials
3.6.3 Study facilities
3.6.4 Study personnel
3.6.5 Develop specific operating objectives
3.7 Develop budget
3.7.1 Develop line item budget
3.7.2 Develop program budget
4.0 IMPLEMENTING
4.1 Submit strategy to decision-making authority board, court legislature
4.2 Make needed revisions of authority's direction
4.3 Assign responsibilities set time schedules
4.4 Conduct program
4.5 Revise and repair on basis of first try feedback
5.0 EVALUATING
5.1 Develop evaluative method for process product
5.2 Evaluate
5.3 Continue feedback into operation for improvement of product and process

2.0 Involving system. This system may precede the identifying one if a group which might make the above described study has become involved. The following four functions or tasks are suggested:

2.1 Identify the publics to be involved.
  2.1.1 Conduct a public information study to identify groups to be informed.
  2.1.2 Conduct a study to identify groups to be involved (vehicles such as institutional and ad hoc groups, politicians, plaintiffs, etc.)

2.2 Inform the public.
  2.2.1 Determine what information is to be used.
  2.2.2 Determine when to inform.
  2.2.3 Determine how to inform and what media is to be employed.

2.3 Involve the public.
  2.3.1 Determine how to involve the groups and individuals.
  2.3.2 Determine the timing and when to involve the various vehicles. (At what point should one sue versus trying to persuade?)

2.4 Develop goals.
  2.4.1 Decide direction and general philosophy.
  2.4.2 Decide upon broad outcomes and products and general processes for reaching them.

3.0 Developing-strategies system. The purpose of this system is to develop plans for reaching the goals of reduction of isolation in a metropolitan area. We suggest seven functions in carrying this out:

3.1 Establish criteria for planning, based upon the direction and philosophy indicated in 2.4.1.

3.2 Develop a data base, building on the data gathered in 1.1 above.

3.3 Determine metropolitan aspects.
  3.3.1 Study governmental structures and barriers.
  3.3.2 Study legislation, policies and court decisions, and their enabling, promoting and requiring aspects.
  3.3.3 Study the metropolitan vehicles and forces which might be brought to bear.

3.4 Develop alternative strategies for reducing isolation. Describe both the outcomes and the process for reaching them.

3.5 Select from among the alternative strategies one or more most feasible.

3.6 Determine the administrative aspects of the strategy chosen.
  3.6.1 Study logistics.
  3.6.2 Study materials and fiscal resources.
  3.6.3 Study facilities.
  3.6.4 Study personnel.

3.7 Develop a program budget for the strategy.

4.0 Implementing system. In this function the strategy is put into effect.

4.1 Submit the selected strategy to the appropriate decision-making authority: board, court, legislature or council.

4.2 Make needed revisions.

4.3 Assign responsibilities and set time schedules.

4.4 Conduct the program.

4.5 Refine on the basis of early experience.

5.0 Evaluating system. In this system a study is made both of the process described and also of the degree to which outcomes are achieved.

5.1 Develop evaluative procedure for process and product.

5.2 Evaluate.

5.3 Continue feedback into the operation on the basis of results of the evaluation.

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III: A Guide for the Reduction of Isolation in Metropolitan Areas

The following guide is designed to aid anyone concerned about isolation in a metropolitan area to examine the problems and to search for solutions. Such a person may be a plaintiff who, feeling the sting of isolation, seeks personal relief; a judge weighing constitutional remedies; an attorney seeking to resolve a legal confrontation; or a school leader who envisions a better way to prepare children for the realities of metropolitan living. The guide is not meant as a sophisticated research manual, but is for use by groups who are interested in action-oriented study of the reduction of ethnic isolation or by those actually charged with the responsibility to investigate, report upon or to design ways of proceeding. As noted in Chapter I, we use the term "ethnic" in Gordon's (1964) meaning, as ". . . any group which is defined or set off by race, religion, or natural origin or some combination of these categories" (p. 27). While our major emphasis here is on race, the processes outlined may be applied to other ethnic groups as well.

We have tried to be practical. Although the suggestions are largely based on actual experience or upon solutions which meet the test of feasibility, we are nonetheless hopeful that they may also help to stimulate creative thinking and innovative solutions. Idealism, as important as it is to motivation and direction, has been minimized. We recognize that there is a place for viewing matters of isolation in a moral light. There are certainly profound issues of right and wrong involved. There are also questions of justice. These must be defined and addressed by us all and by our institutions if our society is to progress toward its highest potential. Our efforts here, however, resist the temptation to moralize and instead concentrate upon the definition of problems and on suggestions for their solutions.

In this chapter an attempt has been made to show that any conscientious person may begin at some point and by following a step-by-step process make measurable gains in identifying and reducing isolation. We have not included all options for action, for there are far too many. We have pointed directions and suggested references.

The guide follows the format of the functional model described in Figure 6 so as to help users check relationships and sequences of functions. Obviously, the guide may be entered at any point depending on one's needs and progress. For help in determining where to enter, significant questions have been posed and alternative answers given. But it must be re-emphasized that this is a guide only. The situational conditions must determine what the problems are and what solutions are most appropriate.

1.0 Identifying

1.1 *Determine the Extent of Isolation*

What is the extent of isolation in a metropolitan area? We will assume that it has been tentatively decided that a problem of isolation does in fact exist. For readers who desire to do comprehensive research on the extent of isolation, Feld's paper provides a detailed informational system format (see Feld, Chapter IV). But for those interested in a reconnaissance survey the following may be sufficient.

1.1.1 *What are the geographic limits of the metropolitan area under study?* While the definition of the area at this stage will necessarily be arbitrary, it should be based upon practical considerations.

The Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA)* may be appropriate. The Boston Metropolitan Planning Project used the SMSA based upon their conclusion that a sufficient concentration of population existed within the 78 communities of the SMSA, and that the time-distance factor was such that its use was feasible. But Feld and Feinman in their work for our project found the recently expanded Atlanta SMSA much too large an area with insufficient population density for analysis of isolation (Feld, Chapter IV). Instead they used the seven-county area which the Atlanta Regional Planning Commission had informally defined. In two other areas of their study — Louisville/Jefferson County and Miami/Dade County — they utilized the county-wide area, and in the case of Wilmington/New Castle County, the area defined by the federal court in its desegregation order.

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*An SMSA is a Bureau of Census designation of an area consisting of a county or group of counties containing at least one city of 50,000 or more population plus adjacent counties.

1.1.2 Once a study area is decided upon the question is asked: *What is the ethnic makeup of the total population of this area?* Demographic data for the study may be found in the publications of the U.S. Bureau of the Census (1970a & b). While rapid changes have taken place since 1970, the data, if used with caution, may reveal significant results. In some areas interim data have been compiled by the Census Bureau in *Current Population Reports*, or by regional planning agencies. For analysis, we suggest using the following table.

Table 1.
Racial Composition of Metro Area X

AREA	White	Black	Native American	Spanish Language	Asian American	Other	TOTAL
	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %
X							
1970							
1960							

1.1.2.1 This leads to the next question: *What is the pattern of residential ethnic composition in the metropolitan area?* The answer may reveal statistical evidence of isolation in housing. These data may also be obtained from the U.S. Census reports and are characteristically provided by census tract. However, in some areas they may be available on a more refined basis through computer mapping. Planners are increasingly utilizing a technique known as geocoding to identify population characteristics by grid areas as small in area as city blocks (see Collison, Appendix B; U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1972). For purposes of analysis census data may be compiled in a format such as Table 2.

Table 2.
Racial Residential Patterns by Census Tract, Metro Area X

CENSUS TRACT	White	Black	Native American	Spanish Language	Asian American	Other	TOTAL
	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %
1							
2							
3							
TOTAL							

An analysis of Table 2 may confirm what was originally suspected: residential isolation exists in a statistical sense with some census tracts either nearly 100 percent white or nearly 100 percent black. Any tendency to jump to conclusions about isolation from this analysis should be resisted since this is evidence of numerical residential segregation, not necessarily isolation as we have defined it. Further data and analysis are needed.

At this juncture we suggest translating the data in Table 2 to graphic form. A large base map of the entire metropolitan area which accurately shows streets, major arterials, freeways, school sites and other physical features is an important aid. Such maps are available from regional planning offices. Topographical maps which may be purchased from the U.S. Hydrographic Office also make excellent base maps. Data to be evaluated are then put on transparent overlays and placed over the base map. When this is done with data from Table 2, geographic patterns of residential segregation may be visualized.

For mapping purposes the data will have to be consolidated into "groupings." Since the purpose of the mapping is to help visualize the extent of isolation, data are grouped to show extremes and central tendencies. For example, to map the ethnic residential characteristics by census tract, the shadings or color used on the overlay may show three groups, such as 0 - 10 percent, 10 - 90 percent and 90 - 100 percent. This may even be simplified more by eliminating the central group, if the impact is not lost.

A further handling of these data will answer the question: *What ethnic residential disparity exists between the various census tracts and the entire metropolitan area?* Data captured in Table 2 may be used in a formula to obtain an index of dissimilarity. This index was utilized by Taeuber & Taeuber (1965) in their study, *Negroes in Cities,* and more recently by Farley (1975) in his study of residential segregation. It ranges from a value of 0 to 100. The lower the value the less the residential segregation; the higher the value the greater the segregation. As Farley (1975) has indicated, the index represents the proportion of one ethnic group which would have to move from one area to another to effect complete balancing of the total area.

If one is interested at this point in looking at trends, indexes for both 1960 and 1970 may be computed and comparisons made. Changes which have taken place in ethnic residence patterns during that period will provide a basis for estimating possible future movements. Much of this comparative work for these years has already been done by researchers and is available in published studies (Farley, 1975).

1.1.2.2 *Is there any relationship between ethnic residential disparity and socioeconomic disparity in the metropolitan area?* The data for this question may also be obtained from the reports of the U.S. Bureau of the Census. A convenient table for compiling data related to socioeconomic characteristics has been used by Feld and Feinman in their study of five metropolitan areas (see Feld, Chapter IV). To visualize the degree to which ethnic residential disparity and socioeconomic disparity are related, portions of the data from Table 3 may be put on map overlays. All of these characteristics will be helpful but if time or personnel shortages dictate that only one be chosen, it is suggested that median family income be that one. Employment information is also helpful. Such information is available from the 1970 Bureau of the Census, but data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor are more current.

1.1.3 Having established a picture of the residential ethnic characteristics in a metropolitan area, attention may be turned to the schools. One may assume that if the "neighborhood school" policy is followed school ethnic patterns will coincide with residential patterns. To a large degree this assumption will probably be substantiated. But there are usually variations which can be seen only when data are gathered. At this point it would be helpful to put all schools on the map and to list them according to grade organization. Institutions of higher learning and private schools should also be indicated.

The question is then asked: *What is the*

Table 3.
Social and Economic Characteristics of Metro Area X, 1970

PLACE OR CENSUS TRACT	Median Family Income $	% Employed as Professionals or Managers	Median School Year Completed	% Owner-Occupied Housing	Median Home Value	% Persons Below Poverty Level
1						
2						
3						

pattern of school ethnic composition in the metropolitan area? Data are available from the reports which local public school districts and accredited private schools make to the state department of education. Most state departments have compiled these for their own analysis. The Office for Civil Rights of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare has also maintained statistics for most districts in major metropolitan areas (1970). To facilitate the analysis, school data may be entered in Table 4. When transferred to an overlay and placed over the base map, these data may help one both visualize the extent of school segregation and coincidentally identify desegregated schools.

Table 4
School Racial Patterns by School District, School and Grade Level in Metro Area X

SCHOOL UNIT	White		Black		Spanish		Asian		Other		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
DISTRICT A												
School A-1 Grade 1 2 3												
School A-2 Grade												
DISTRICT B												
Etc. Private Schools												

A further analysis may be made by utilizing the index of dissimilarity explained above. In this case one may simply substitute the individual schools for census tracts and student enrollment for population to get a tentative estimate of the proportion of students of an ethnic group which would have to move from one school to another to effect a uniform ethnic proportion throughout the metropolitan school system.

It would be wise now to gather data on the ethnic composition of school faculties, which are important indicators of the degree of isolation. These data may be obtained both from the reports of local districts to the state department of education and from the Office for Civil Rights of HEW (1970). Table 5 provides a format for their analysis.

1.1.4 *To what degree does a disparity exist in the distribution of educational resources?* Primary among resources is tax money raised and spent for education. The complexity of the causes of tax disparity is portrayed by Simms in her analysis of the urban fiscal crisis (see Simms, Chapter IV). A number of studies over the years have examined the problems associated with the raising and distribution of public school funds (National Educational Finance Project, 1971). Legal action has increasingly been sought by plaintiffs to reduce or eliminate discrimination in the manner in which taxes are both raised and distributed. The data compiled for

Table 5.
School Staff Racial Patterns by School District and School in Metro Area X

SCHOOL UNIT	White		Black		Spanish		Asian		Other		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
DISTRICT A												
School 1 2 3												
DISTRICT B 1 2												
Private School												

these lawsuits are rich sources of information for use in assessing the extent of isolation (Ford Foundation, 1976). But for the purposes of this preliminary assessment, the two basic questions posed by the Phi Delta Kappa Commission on Alternative Designs for Funding Education (1972), when modified to apply to metropolitan areas, seem appropriate.

The first is: *What is the difference in wealth among school districts in the metropolitan area?* If the metropolitan area is consolidated into one district an answer is unnecessary for our purposes. But since most metropolitan areas contain a number of school districts the following data from each district are helpful:

1. Per capita personal income per pupil in average daily attendance.
2. Assessed valuation per pupil in average daily attendance.

These figures are usually available from state departments of education. They are also often compiled and analyzed by regional planning commissions. The state department of revenue may be a third source of up-to-date information of this kind.

The second question is: *What is the difference in the level of expenditures among school districts in the metropolitan area?* An answer to this can be quite complex if variations in program needs are taken into consideration. However, for an overview of differences the following data by district may be significant:

1. The expenditures per pupil as calculated for each district by the state department of education.
2. The percent of locally raised tax revenue devoted to education.

Since differences in expenditures may also exist between individual schools within school districts, the compilation of per pupil expenditure by individual school would be helpful. It is doubtful whether these data would be readily available on a comparable metropolitan-wide basis, but it may be worth the search.

In examining resource disparity which might be related to ethnic isolation in the schools, the following statistics from the state department of education should be considered:

1. How many library books are there per student, by school district and by schools within districts?

2. What are the ages and rated condition of the school facilities throughout the metropolitan area and their rated capacity?

1.1.5 The next fundamental question to be asked is: *What educational disparity exists among the metropolitan school districts?* In Table 3 above information about the educational level of the general populations in the metropolitan area is compiled. It would be interesting to know, by district, the percent of the adult population, by ethnic group, that had (a) completed high school and (b) completed four years of college. Other helpful information would be:

1. Levels of teacher training and experience by individual school. These data are available from local school district personnel records and from reports by local districts to the state department of education.
2. Achievement levels of students by grade, by school and by district. Because these data are sensitive and subject to misinterpretation, judgment must be exercised in their use (Stone, 1971). They are useful only insofar as they give a statistical indication, based upon comparable test results, that there is a disparity in educational needs or effort among metropolitan schools. These data are available from local school district testing offices and are usually compiled in reports to the state department of education.
3. Rate of suspension of students by school by ethnic group. These data are available from the school district records of pupil personnel. They have also been compiled by the Office for Civil Rights of the Department of HEW.
4. Breadth of offerings in the public schools by district.

Of these the last may be most significant. Does one district offer art, music, career education and physical education to all elementary students while another does not? Are comprehensive high school options available in some districts and not in others? Do programs for all handicapped children exist here but not there? Is curriculum oriented toward the pluralistic nature of our society in some schools and not in others? The data may have to be dug out of various documents of the schools districts, from reports to the state department of education and to accrediting agencies. The answers may reveal differences in basic educational opportunities which in turn contribute to student isolation.

1.1.6 Knowledge about the past is helpful in assessing the extent of isolation. Historical data on institutional and community action and inaction will give an indication of progress made. A careful examination of recorded conflict which may have both stimulated and been the stimulator of isolation may yield evidence of its extent and intensity. Case studies of disruptions, riots and "racial" incidents reveal some of the underlying factors in isolation. Lawsuits also provide valuable information.

Of equal importance is the current political climate of the metropolitan area. If the political divisions are essentially along ethnic lines, the extent of isolation may be greater than statistics reveal. Boston, for example, statistically has no more ethnic isolation than Tampa, yet political ethnicity in Boston has worked against the reduction of isolation whereas in Tampa it has been at least neutral if not helpful in working toward reduction of isolation. In analyzing the impact of the political climate one may ask: *Is political power shared across ethnic lines?* Are the suburbs ruled by white politics and the city by black politics, with minimum interaction and a great deal of suspicion? Or is there mutual respect, are ethnic issues dealt with openly, with political trade-offs and changing evaluations forming around political and economic issues?

An analysis of the data gathered thus far should be sufficient to reasonably confirm or deny the existence of ethnic isolation and to estimate its extent. It may be helpful to review what data have been compiled and how they are presented for analysis.

1. The metropolitan area has been defined.
2. Basic data related to ethnic isolation in the metropolitan area have been assembled in tables and on graphs:
   a. The ethnic composition of the entire metropolitan area.
   b. The ethnic composition by residence of the entire metropolitan area.
   c. The indicators of educational and socioeconomic disparity such as median family income, employment, educational levels and home ownership.
   d. The ethnic composition of all schools in the entire metropolitan area.
   e. The resources allotted for public education by school district and by school.
   f. The evidence of educational disparity in staff, offerings and achievement.
3. Portions of these data have been placed on transparent overlays of a base metropolitan map and examined in relationship with one another.
4. Historical data have been studied.
5. In analyzing the above it may be helpful to refer to the definition of isolation. Do the data show that there is segregated housing? If so, do they also show that there are segregated schools? Are the teaching and administrative staffs segregated in the schools?

If the answers are in the affirmative there is strong indication of isolation yet not necessarily proof. Further inquiry is needed. The question must be asked: Is the observed segregation a result of discrimination and/or ethnic discipline? It may be unlikely but possible that a person or group lives in a segregated neighborhood, attends or sends children to a segregated school, yet is free to live anywhere or to attend any school — in fact, possesses equality of access to options but does not wish to exercise them.

Do the data show that low income, limited job opportunities, restricted home ownership, lesser resource allocation, lower educational attainment levels, below average achievement scores and fewer curriculum offerings reasonably coincide with the patterns of segregation? If so, one may conclude that isolation exists and may make estimates as to its extent.

1.2 *Identify Systems Involved*

Having estimated the extent of isolation, one may ask: *What systems are involved in the isolation and what forces are at work to increase or decrease it?* In Chapter II, a number of subsystems have been identified as interacting with a metropolitan school subsystem in ways which may affect isolation. Examples of how these subsystems and their interactive forces might be examined are given below.

1.2.1 Housing subsystem. If the data verify that there is extensive residential segregation, a study of the vehicles and forces of the housing subsystems is in order. A large part of the problem may be traced to the use of exclusionary covenants and to the Federal Housing Authority's early regulations regarding compatible neighborhoods. According to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (1974a), over the years government at all levels, as well as the private sector, has been implicated in a complex of discriminatory housing policies and practices.

For the purpose of study the housing subsystem may be divided into two areas, public and private. In the public area the major impact has been in three federal housing programs — public housing, rent supplement housing and community development program housing. Local government approval is required for all three. Federal public housing consists of housing projects which are constructed, purchased or leased by locally constituted housing authorities which also manage them. The rent supplement program, which was suspended by the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) in 1973, enabled low-income families to have broader options in rentals than the project housing offered.

The 1974 Housing and Community Development Act provides for block grants to local governments, which are aimed at benefiting low- and moderate-income persons. Overseen by HUD, local municipalities are able to set up machinery for assessing local needs and priorities and for administering the programs.

What is the need for housing for the low- and moderate-income families in the metropolitan area? The Bureau of the Census Housing Characteristics Census, which will soon have five-year housing survey data available for many areas, will be helpful here. Studies by HUD will provide an insight into the pressure for adequate housing. Housing data have also been compiled by state, metropolitan or regional planning agencies funded under Section 701, the Housing Act of 1959. The 1966 Housing Act required planning agencies which received federal funds to describe housing needs and ways of meeting them.

What federal housing programs have been approved by the various local governments in the metropolitan area? A listing of those in operation, their cost, the number of people served and the ethnic composition of residents should be noted, and project location placed on the map. A determination of the reasons for their location and a justification for their size would be helpful if the information is available; this may entail the examination of the minutes of the approving meetings. By studying the school data in relation to the public housing data one may begin to ascertain the effect of housing decisions upon school segregation.

If it is shown that the location and size of public housing projects contribute to segregation in the schools, the question arises: *What vehicles and forces are involved?*

Local government may be a major vehicle since its authorization is necessary for federal public housing. It may *prohibit* the location of public housing in its jurisdiction by merely failing to pass an authorizing ordinance. It may *restrain* the location by passing restrictive land use policies and enacting stringent building codes, or it may *enable* by passing authorizing legislation. It may even *promote* favorable location by innovative planning such as that done by the Miami Valley Regional Planning Commission (MVRPC) in Dayton, Ohio; MVRPC has had considerable success in locating low-income housing throughout the Dayton Metropolitan area.

It may be useful at this juncture to look at the machinery set up in local municipalities to administer the federal funds under the 1974 Housing and Community Development Act programs, and at the extent to which these funds have been used either to increase or reduce residential isolation in the metropolitan area. Because the act consolidates many programs and gives much local control over the funds, a large measure of the federal civil rights compliance power is reduced, making local monitoring increasingly important.

It might also be informative to check on the impact of urban renewal projects. In their study of urban renewal in Chicago Berry and Stafford (1968) point out that projects for middle-income persons, or developments such as convention centers, university facilities and freeways, have displaced large numbers of low-income minority families. By reducing the available housing stock, such developments have created relocation problems, often forcing families into adjacent ghetto communities, exacerbating the density of residential segregation and forcing rent up (p. 24).

State government may be a major vehicle since it usually has the power to establish metropolitan-wide authority for problem resolution. It may *enable* or *inhibit* locations of public housing in a way which will reduce isolation simply by establishing or failing to establish a metropolitan-wide planning base for locating public housing programs. State-established metropolitan authorities are discussed in Chapter IV by Daniel and Simms, and in McKelvey's (1973) book, *Metropolitan School Organization*. However, one is worth mentioning here. In New York State the Urban Development Corporation (UDC) was given the authority to supercede local law, if necessary, in its efforts to develop needed low- and moderate-income housing, to promote commercial development and to provide civic facilities. While UDC ran into serious financial difficulties, much can be learned from its experience in attempting to solve serious housing problems (*Lesson To Be Learned*, 1975).

The federal government is also a vehicle since public housing laws are passed by Congress and administered through HUD. Congress may *restrain* the number and location of such housing simply by failing to pass the acts or fund them, or by passing legislation which specifies that local governments have the power to exclude public housing. Congress may *promote* metropolitan-wide solutions by including in its legislation incentives for metropolitan planning for housing needs. An example of such legislation is H.R. 9688, the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1971. Although not enacted, it proposed metropolitan and state housing agencies that would develop three-year programs, including a needs assessment considering employment locations and income factors, and programs for new housing and renovation of old on a metropolitan basis.

The federal administration, through the formulation of guidelines and vigorous administration, may also *promote* the optimum use of federal law in reducing isolation. For example, through HUD it has considerable leverage to affect the location of housing projects. HUD has developed project selection criteria that can be utilized effectively for improving site environments and thereby the benefits and the image of public housing (Fuerst, 1974, p. 197).

Community action is a vehicle. Its pressures may be effective in obtaining action at local, state or federal levels. A practical guide to citizen interaction with governments is Rosenbaum's (1975) *Citizen Involvement in Urban Land Use Governance: Issues and Methods*.

Courts are vehicles with the force of decisions of law. There appears to be a judicial setback in the recent Arlington Heights case, in which the Supreme Court ruled that a local zoning law is not unconstitutional merely because it limits the availability of low-income housing (*Metropolitan H.D. Corp. v. Village of Arlington Heights*, 517 F.2d. 409 [Ca 7 1975]). But in recent years courts have crumbled much local and state discriminatory action. In Chicago, for example, the federal court has attempted to restrict future segregated public housing by ordering a comprehensive metropolitan area plan (*Gautreaux v. Chicago Housing Authority*, 503 F.2d. 930 [1974]; see also Manley, 1975).

But the segregation resulting from public housing practices is a relatively small if nonetheless significant part of the total housing picture; the private housing market constitutes the major source of residential segregation. In studying private sector housing the question is raised: *Are there discriminatory practices in private residential housing which are associated with segregated residential patterns and thus with segregated schools?* While it may seem obvious to many that such is the case, it has only been recently that the compilation of evidence on a metropolitan-wide basis has become a serious effort (Hermalin & Farley, 1973).

Some of the most apparent examples of private segregative practices are "steering" of customers by real estate agents, the control of listings by brokers and the resulting existence of a dual housing market. "Blockbusting" is a familiar technique in many transitional neighborhoods with real estate agents generating panic selling by white homeowners so as to profit from resales to minority home buyers. "Redlining" is another discriminatory act whereby lending institutions either refuse to give a mortgage loan to a minority family which wants to purchase a house in a white neighborhood, or decline to loan at reasonable rates for homes purchased in an integrated or predominantly black neighborhood. Both practices contribute to isolation (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1974a). The practice of "redlining" has been difficult to prove because of the problems of obtaining comparative information. Now, however, through the Home Mortgage Disclosure Act of 1975, the Federal Reserve Board has been given the responsibility of requiring lending institutions to disclose home mortgage information by census tract. But the Federal Reserve Board does not intend to compile this information centrally so the burden of examination is placed upon local individual community groups and local or state government. An example of how a state has assumed this responsibility is the Illinois law of August 1975, requiring all home lending institutions to submit the required information twice a year. Community groups will find advice on how to use disclosed information in a handbook prepared by the National Training and Information Center (1976), *How to Use the Home Mortgage Disclosure Act of 1975.*

In some communities there may be a problem with enforcement of the laws. Title VIII of the United Civil Rights Act, passed by Congress in 1968 and buttressed by the Supreme Court's decision in *Jones v. Meyer* (392 U.S. 409 [1968]), outlaws discrimination in housing. The vehicles responsible for the enforcement of the Civil Rights Act are the Department of Justice and HUD. An individual or community group may wish to check on the enforcement efforts in a metropolitan area and in doing so may find Kovar's (1974) publication, *Auditing Real Estate Practices: A Manual,* useful.

If remedies require legal action, the Housing Opportunities Council (1974) has published a pamphlet, *Housing and Justice,* listing a number of possible legal sanctions in open housing situations. Plaintiffs in recent metropolitan school desegregation cases have compiled evidence regarding housing discrimination to support their claim that such pervasive, officially sanctioned discrimination has led to school segregation. An examination of the findings in these cases may provide interested persons with clues for use in their own metropolitan study (see Manley & Jackson, Chapter IV).

The vehicles need not all be of an enforcing nature. In every area there are persons of good will, ethical professionals including real estate agents and groups, who are working to make the metropolitan community a better place to live and work. An excellent example is the Northern Virginia Board of Realtors' activity in the development and promotion of the *Homeseeker's Guide,* a publication aimed at helping minority persons find homes in the Washington, D.C., suburbs (Grier, 1974). In identifying such persons or groups one may ask: *Do the local boards of the National Association of Real Estate Boards (1973) have equal rights committees? Do such committees provide information to real estate agents regarding the laws and regulations pertaining to equal housing opportunities? What official state and local individuals or agencies are designated to monitor fair housing standards?*

What community groups are organized for this type of activity (Beach, 1975)? In Atlanta the Central Atlanta Progress, a downtown business organization, put together an inner-city lending consortium in which leading lending institutions pledged a pool of money for new home loans and for purchase and rehabilitation of older ones. It also secured a promise from the participating financial institutions that they would not engage in redlining.

Another very important vehicle is the media. The press, television and radio are powerful purveyors of truth and myth about housing. Through careful writing, reporting, commentary and documentary the facts about integrated neighborhoods, real estate values and affirmative action guidelines can be presented. There are many examples of the stability and quality of living in integrated communities that can be topics for the media's examination. Attention of the media may also be directed to their real estate advertisements. Action research carried on by Grier and Associates (1974) in the development of the *Homeseeker's Guide* uncovered areas of bias in ads; through the cooperation of the metropolitan Washington, D.C., papers, some of this bias was eliminated.

1.2.2 Economic subsystem. For the purposes of this type of effort, an extensive study of a metropolitan area's economic subsystem is much too complex. Important economic patterns and trends may, however, be available from research studies carried out by local universities and private economic research groups. A review of these may provide evidence of discriminatory forces at work as well as suggestions of remedies. Perhaps the most basic economic force related to isolation is that of employment.

Patterns of unemployment vary with economic cycles, but if unemployment of minority persons exceeds that of the general population year after year it is evidence of isolating forces at work. A ten-year comparison of the employment data by race from 1960 to 1970, if analyzed by census tract, may give a picture of trends in the employment disparity within a metropolitan area and their relationship to residence. More current data are available from the Bureau of Labor Statistics. In analyzing these data the following questions may be raised:

1. *What relationship exists between unemployment and educational levels?* To determine this, one may check the reports of the Bureau of Labor Statistics and reports compiled by the state employment security office. If there is a high correlation, as is certainly the case in many areas, the force for reducing unemployability may be educational programs which increase needed skills or credentials. If so, the vehicles are in the schools and colleges of the areas as well as other training institutions and agencies.

2. *Do exclusionary forces exist which limit the opportunities for minority persons to join unions or other organizations which are gatekeepers to employment?* Evidence is difficult to procure since discrimination is illegal. To carry out the Equal Employment Opportunity Act federal and local governmental equal employment opportunity commissions or departments are expected to monitor the existence of such discrimination and compile data regarding complaints of discriminatory requirements such as tests, educational requirements and job-assignment practices. The vehicles are the regulatory agencies and, if necessary, the courts. But various organizations may themselves be effective vehicles, using the force of their own affirmative action policies.

3. *To what extent is there a commitment to affirmative action in hiring and layoff practices by the public and private employers of the metropolitan area?* Information may be available from the local office of federal contract compliance and from state and local affirmative action agencies. In addition to the compliance officers the vehicles are, of course, the employers, and the force which they can use is their own positive, voluntary action to meet affirmative action goals. There are many examples of such action, but in its absence the enforcement of affirmative action for those businesses and industries holding federal contracts or receiving federal monies is the responsibility of the federal contract officers.

4. *To what extent does the location of jobs work unusual hardships on racial groups?* Are businesses, industries and governmental installations located or relocated in places which central city residents find inaccessible, or expensive or inconvenient to reach? There are examples of major employers maintaining employment opportunities within central cities. One of significance is the recent decision by the Ford Motor Company to locate a portion of its office staff in the new Renaissance Center complex in downtown Detroit. Such moves not only work to provide employment opportunities, they represent a statement of faith in the future of central cities (Stuart, 1977).

Is low-cost transportation available for persons to travel quickly to job sites, or, if not, is low-cost housing available near the sites? The United States Commission on Civil Rights (1974a) has viewed the mismatch between jobs and housing as a serious nationwide problem, one that is exacerbated by the growing suburbanization of major private and governmental employment sources. The vehicles are the employers and the force is their commitment either to locate or remain in the central city or to help in the provision of low-cost housing close to suburban plants or offices. The vehicles are also all levels of government, their forces being their willingness to locate or maintain central city employment opportunities, to provide low-cost transportation and to eliminate zoning and other mechanisms which restrict or prohibit low-cost housing near jobs.

1.2.3 Transportation subsystem. The lack of mobility limits opportunities. A study of the metropolitan area transportation system may reveal potentialities for the reduction of isolation. To begin one might map the entire public transportation network on an overlay. Carrying capacity, along with other information such as fares, may be obtained from transportation authorities; long-range and master plans for the systems should also be available.

The questions to be raised relate to the degree to which isolation and its reduction were taken into consideration by the planners.

1. Were educational transportation needs taken into account?

2. Were the real and potential job needs of people in areas of persistently high unemployment considered?

3. Has the cost of transportation and revenues been estimated so as to project low fares for low-income persons commuting to jobs?

4. Does the planning provide for access to the recreational, cultural and educational opportunities of the entire metropolitan area, for residents of the central city as well as those of the suburbs?

5. Do plans for freeways and expressways impact upon neighborhoods in such a way as to reduce needed housing stock, degenerate neighborhoods or separate minority groups from majority groups?

The vehicles are the transportation authorities, the planning departments or commissions delegated the responsibility for transportation planning, and the local governmental councils or commissions which make the decisions. The state highway commissions as well as the U.S. Department of Transportation are vehicles which yield forces that may work toward or away from the reduction of isolation.

1.2.4 Health and welfare subsystem. Within this subsystem there are numerous sub-subsystems which, in their interaction to serve the needs of people, form a complex montage. Some of the subsystems are private, depending upon donations and foundations for support. Others are tax supported and some are intermingled in their support. In many metropolitan areas there have been attempts to catalogue these services and provide a directory for volunteers and professionals. Nearly every metropolitan area has a coordinating body which tries to decrease duplication, help the agencies be more client-oriented and make it easier for recipients of services to obtain help as quickly and efficiently as possible. The United Fund organizations, the metropolitan council of planning affiliates, the various offices of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW), and each of the counties and municipalities of metropolitan areas have departments of health and welfare which have useful information.

The questions to be raised relate to the disparity with which these services are rendered and the degree to which any disparity helps to increase or decrease isolation:

1. What services are available?

2. Do disparities in the services exist?

3. What, if any, problems are involved in obtaining the services?

4. What vehicles and forces are involved?

1.2.5 Local government subsystem. The local governments include the counties, cities, municipalities and special districts within the metropolitan study area. These vary in size, number and scope of authority. Local governments are overlaid with special service districts which provide water and sewage systems, transportation, pollution control, central planning and many other services that transcend local governmental boundaries. These are often governed by commissions or public corporations that are not elected but have businesslike powers to make single-minded decisions about the living environment of the metropolitan area (Wood, 1959, p. 30). An excellent lay person's reference for analyses of local governments in metropolitan areas is that of the League of Women Voters (1974), *Supercity/Hometown, USA*.

Local governments have considerable power to affect isolation. As we have seen they may exert land use powers to allow or thwart low-cost housing and to encourage or discourage industry; they may approve and disapprove transportation routes; they may enhance or resist intergovernmental cooperation. In recent years efforts have been made by local governments to restrict growth. Partially as a result of their determination to avoid urban sprawl, some have imposed restrictive zoning, placed moratoriums on sewer and water connections and passed building bans and dedication ordinances. Interestingly, such limits have been opposed by groups as diverse as the American Civil Liberties Union and the National Association of Home Builders.

Among the vehicles which may apply force influencing isolation are:

1. The local governments themselves. Through local leadership the governments can both singly and in cooperation with others in the metropolitan area work to reduce isolative forces. On a metropolitan basis this may be done through the support, approval and implementation of comprehensive planning.

2. Community groups. Such groups, organized on a metropolitan basis, may provide considerable leverage in gaining governmental action. The force is through organization and leadership (see community groups subsystem, p. 29).

3. State governments. State legislation enabling and encouraging by incentives the formation of intergovernmental consortia, colloboratives and cooperatives, is a start. The establishment of metropolitan commissions charged with comprehensive planning that includes among their criteria the aim of reducing isolation is surely a minimum state goal. A further step would be state legislation requiring metropolitan-wide comprehensive planning based upon state-prescribed criteria. Even further, legislatures usually have the authority to develop any one of a variety of metropolitan governance structures having authority for metropolitan-wide decisions on matters of planning, environment and isolation (see analyses of alternatives by Daniels & Simms, Chapter IV).

State governments, through their planning and administering, exert forces which may help to reduce or increase isolation. The employment of minority persons may be enhanced or discouraged by the location of state facilities. State highway construction may affect neighborhoods in ways that increase ethnic isolation (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1974a).

The Federal Highway Act requires that states consider such impacts in their plans; but the Federal Highway Administration has only prohibited "intentional discrimination in such matters as relocation housing and who is allowed to drive on a highway" (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1974a). Community groups may use their influence by insisting that state plans go beyond minimal interpretations and recognize the need for advocacy planning to assure that "unintentional" discrimination is avoided.

1.2.6 Political subsystem. Political power is a primary force for or against the reduction of isolation. An examination of the political scene will provide insights into the way it pervades and affects all other systems. Studies of local political systems are often available from political science departments of local or state universities and colleges. The answers to the following questions may be helpful:

1. What is the racial makeup of the elected governmental positions in each of the metropolitan governments and service districts?

2. What is the racial makeup of the appointed boards, commissions and councils which have policy, regulatory or judicial powers?

3. Are governmental officials elected at large or from wards or districts?

4. Do political parties recruit and otherwise encourage participation of minority persons? Is there evidence of strong voter registration by the parties?

5. Do voting patterns appear to be consistently based upon ethnicity?

In some locations, largely in central cities, the political strength of ethnic minorities has become decisive. The Supreme Court recently upheld an act of affirmative gerrymandering, designed to apportion minority representation; what effect their decision will have remains to be seen (*United Jewish Organizations of Williamsburgh, Inc. v. Carey,* 45 U.S.L.W. 4221 [March 1, 1977]). But an examination may be aided by the answers to such questions as:

1. Is there a high degree of friction between the white business, professional, financial, industrial establishment in the central city and the ethnic political power establishment?

2. To what extent is political power used to obtain trade-offs and compromises that benefit people who are isolated? An example is the use of black political power to open opportunities for black entrepreneurs, such as the insistence by Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson (1977) that contracts for the Atlanta airport expansion include black subcontractors.

3. Does the minority political power of the central city cause anxiety in the sub-

urbs, with countervailing political action? Or is it viewed with a sense of reality which looks beyond ethnicity to the economic and environmental health of the entire area? Evidence regarding this may be found in the way the representatives of the state legislature line up on bills that touch upon annexation, collaborative metropolitan services and proposed metropolitan planning or governance structures.

4. Do cross-ethnic political coalitions form around certain issues? If so, what are these issues?

The vehicles are the political parties, groups and coalitions. The forces are the application of political pressure to governmental action resulting in helping or hindering the reduction of isolation. For a discussion of this problem from a black point of view see Tobe Johnson's (1972) *Metro Government: A Black Analytical Perspective.*

1.2.7 Community groups subsystem. In every metropolitan area there are a great number of community groups which act and interact, grow and decline in an ever-changing way. Some are ad hoc, arising over certain issues; if the issues are controversial, opposing ad hoc groups are sure to spring up. Some are advisory committees required by statute. Some are long-term groups with financially supporting membership while others are short term. Some have compensated officers or members, others are voluntary. For a detailed description of metropolitan-wide groups and their potentialities see League of Women Voters (1974), *Supercity/Hometown, USA* (pp. 82-128).

Each group may be part of another subsystem. The National Congress of Parents and Teachers, for example, may be considered within the public school subsystem; the local Council of Christians and Jews may be considered a part of the religious subsystem. However, viewed as a whole the groups form a dynamic subsystem that has within it potentialities for helping or hindering efforts to reduce isolation.

A valuable exercise is to identify the most influential of the community groups and to assess their effect on isolation. In so doing it would be wise not to stereotype organizations because of their national reputation or because of local publicity. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce has been cast in a conservative image yet there are many instances in which local chambers of commerce have given influential support to efforts to reduce isolation. Examples are the positive involvement of the Chamber in Hillsborough County during the desegregation effort there (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1976a) and in Dallas where the Chamber (1977), among other activities, has produced a booklet, *Keep it Together, Dallas,* an excellent how-to-do-it guide. The NAACP has a national image of pressing court-ordered desegregation, yet in Atlanta, the local chapter has compromised the national policy in favor of what it believed to be other gains.

At times there is an impulse to consider certain groups as ludicrous, absurd and even irrational. This, too, should be resisted. In such emotional matters as ethnic relations what appears to be eccentricity or irrationality may be indicative of popular feeling. Such groups as Restore Our Alienated Rights (ROAR) in Boston, National Action Group (NAG) in Pontiac, Committee Against Mandatory Busing (CAMB) in Seattle, Save Our Neighborhood Schools (SONS) in a number of cities, the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) and comparable groups in nearly every community where civil rights pressures have stimulated counterpressures, often have surprisingly broad if passive support. However, noise, publicity, demonstrations and organized confrontations may make the few activities of such groups appear more potent than they are in fact.

In many instances the effectiveness of a group is dependent upon its leadership. An identification of the principal actors in the group drama will be useful as one determines a strategy for reducing isolation. *Who are the leaders in the reduction of isolation? What groups might form a compatible coalition to support efforts?* The vehicles are the groups. The forces that they use to affect isolation may be leadership, organization, persuasion, education, demonstration and legal challenges.

1.2.8 Private education subsystem (see Huenecke, Chapter IV). All the schools or school systems outside the public school domain may be considered a part of the private school subsystem. Since these may be influential in the reduction of isolation it will be helpful to list them and briefly describe some of their features. A few systems, notably Catholic ones, have helped reduce isolation by (a) maintaining their churches and schools in central cities, thus discouraging white flight to the suburbs; (b) attempting to prevent the use of parochial schools as an escape during times of desegregation of public schools; and (c) by taking affirmative action in trying to provide minority students an educational option in the parochial schools. On the negative side one finds the segregation academies that are either set up to avoid desegregation or take advantage of it (Nevin & Bills, 1976).

Besides listing private schools it may be helpful to seek answers to the following questions regarding each:

1. What is the ethnic makeup?
2. What policy does the school have regarding affirmative action in recruiting minority students?
3. What policy does the school have to discourage its use as an ethnic retreat from the public schools?
4. Does the school remain in the central city — that is, if located in an ethnically transitional neighborhood, does it remain or does it move to a more homogeneous area?
5. Does the school have entrance requirements which appear to be ethnically exclusionary?
6. Does it use affirmative action for hiring teachers, administrators and other staff members?
7. Does the school provide alternatives to public school education?

The vehicles are the private schools, their boards of directors, administrators and parent support organizations. The forces are moral leadership, the enactment and the enforcement of policies. Public opinion is a force that might be wielded by those wishing change. Legal action is more promising of results now that the Supreme Court has ruled that private nonsectarian schools may not exclude children because of race (*Runyan v. McCrary*, 96 S.Ct. 2586, 1976).

1.2.9 Higher education subsystem. Like the public and private elementary and secondary schools, the institutions of higher education have been caught up in pressures to reduce isolation. Some have not viewed themselves as agents of social change but as communities of scholars aloof from plebian moves toward equal opportunity. Others have been on the forefront of change as a result of either affirmative institutional leadership, reaction to civil rights confrontations or court action (see Huenecke, Chapter IV).

Each institution of higher education within the metropolitan area influences to some degree the reduction or increase of isolation. The extent of this influence may be estimated by identifying each institution and studying its policies and practices. The following data may be useful.

1. A list of all institutions of higher education along with a designation as to public or private, two-year or four-year, graduate programs and location.
2. The entrance requirements for students.
3. The policies for admission of minority students on an affirmative action basis.
4. The policies for affirmative action in hiring and promoting.
5. The student and faculty ethnic composition by department.
6. The policies regarding public service. Does an institution encourage and recognize public service by professors and departments?
7. The involvement of an institution and its personnel in metropolitan affairs which promote or hinder the reduction of isolation. For example, does the department of urban planning help form community councils to help local residents in the improvement of their communities? Does the institution encourage or support professors to develop desegregation plans and serve as expert witnesses in court?
8. Are the officers of the institution student advocates in seeking ways to compensate for past ethnic discrimination? For example, the President of the University of Washington was an advocate of affirmative action in admitting minority students to law school, a position that led to the famous *Defunis* case (*Defunis v. Odegaard*, 416 U.S. 312 [1973]) and helped set a positive tone for the entire state.
9. Do the institutions of higher education work closely with the lower schools in establishing realistic standards and expectations for different options provided by higher education? An example is the court-ordered pairing of Boston metropolitan colleges and universities with Boston public schools to promote solutions to problems associated with their desegregation.

The vehicles are the boards of regents, the presidents, the alumni, the faculties and the students. If the institutions are public the vehicles include the state legislature and the governor. Since nearly all institutions of higher education receive federal funds, the departments of the federal government are also vehicles. Leadership, persuasion, confrontation, politics, legislation, investigation, threat of withholding or providing of funds and court action are all forces which have been used.

1.2.10 Media subsystem. This subsystem consists of all the ways in which the public receives information and includes the metropolitan and local newspapers, the shopping news and the specialty papers ranging from the underground to the variety, television and radio. To underestimate the power of the media demonstrates naiveté. In matters of reduction of isolation the media can be very supportive or very destructive. It can be informative, moderate and responsible, or it can be sensation oriented, exaggerating incidents of ethnic conflict out of context. The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (1968) has described both kinds of reporting and suggested improvements (Chapter 15).

To begin a study of the media one should list every newspaper of significance, its publisher and editors and its area of coverage. The same may be done for each television and radio station with its owner, general manager and news department managers identified.

Many papers and stations have particular points of view which they project in various ways. While these may be the subject of the editorial pages of the newspapers and the station manager's editorial statements or the broadcaster's commentary, they are often also evident in the character of headlining, the selection of lead, front-page stories, or the selecting out of stories and the reordering of reporting so as to emphasize incidental or special qualities in an occurrence. Reporters in this way often reflect what the editors want. Although the public soon comes to know the philosophy of a medium, an analysis would be of help; the school of journalism at a local university may have made such a study.

The vehicles are the owners, advertisers, publishers, editors and reporters. Their force is what they say and write or their influence on what is said or written. Public opinion, which is partly shaped by the media, is also a force that affects the media through ratings, letters and phone calls.

A community should expect and urge the kind of reporting outlined in a memo from the editor of the *Boston Globe* at the onset of school desegregation in that city. Among these guidelines were:

> Stay as inconspicuous as possible; stand back from any outbreaks.
>
> Take notes about forecasts of violence, but print none of them.
>
> Avoid characterizing individuals or situations with inflammatory descriptions. Identify participants as Black and White . . . (only when) germane . . .
>
> Keep perspective at all times; all fist fights do not constitute a riot.
>
> Remember that many . . . readers will not get beyond . . . headlines. It is imperative that the headlines be scrupulously accurate. The same holds true for photo captions.
>
> Editing should be done with utmost care . . . so that the original intent . . . is not inadvertently distorted (Winship, 1975)

The Federal Communications Commission requirements are a force which may be brought to bear to help in the guidance of radio and television programming.

1.2.11 Religion subsystem. In recent years the clergy's efforts to increase understanding and to reduce isolation have been among the most notable. From pulpits and via pastoral newsletters churchmen have tried to set public attitude against discrimination. Not content with exhortation many priests, ministers and rabbis have carried their words into the communities to demonstrate, to confront and to organize ecumenically in their efforts to right moral wrongs. These efforts take on added significance when one considers that the churchmen often acted as missionaries out of conscience in the face of opposition from their own church boards and the disapproval of their congregations (see *Atlanta Journal*, May 3, 1976).

Among the many influential religious groups the local units of the National Council of Churches have made strong and consistent efforts to reduce isolation.

Ecumenical coalitions such as the Metropolitan Area Religious Coalition of Cincinnati (MARCC) have carried out studies, encouraged action and pressed for specific metropolitan remedies (see MARCC). The North Brandywine Council of Congregations is a group of fourteen churches and synagogues in Wilmington and New Castle County, Delaware, that provides a positive force in that community's search for metropolitan solutions. The antidefamation league of B'nai B'rith has for years waged battles against prejudice. The potential for impact is great: after the Escambia County, Florida, school system desegregated, the superintendent identified the Ministerial Alliance's support as "probably the most recognizable positive force in the community" (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1972, p. 13).

The positive approach described above has by no means been the rule. Many churches have themselves remained exclusionary. In a few instances pastors have supported segregationist groups and have been vocal in their opposition to efforts to reduce isolation (Good, 1973). Some churches, supporting in spirit the reduction of isolation, have nonetheless rejected the idea that ministers, rabbis and priests should carry their messages beyond the walls of the temple and have viewed their role as one of attending to the spiritual needs of their congregations rather than of being on the forefront of social change.

Essential to a study of isolation in a metropolitan area is the identification of religious leaders and of religious groups.

1. What are the religious groups providing services in the metropolitan area?
2. Do these groups advocate open admission by policy or by practice?
3. Do these groups take a policy stand against ethnic discrimination in any form?
4. Do they take action against discrimination?
5. Are there religious groups opposing the reduction of isolation?

1.2.12 Cultural and recreational subsystem. Ethnic isolation is often apparent in public and private cultural and recreational institutions and programs. Answers to the following questions may be helpful in a survey of these:

1. What are the cultural and recreational opportunities in the metropolitan area (such as libraries, parks, museums, playfields, beaches and civic centers)?
2. What is the location of each and its availability to people of the entire metropolitan area?
3. What is the ethnic make-up of the staffs and of the participants? For example, what is the ethnic composition of the metropolitan symphony orchestra, the repertory theatre guild, the park and recreation departments?
4. What evidence is there of past conflicts along ethnic lines which were in or around cultural and recreational sites?
5. What efforts have been made to increase the cultural and recreational options of minority metropolitan residents? One cannot resist mentioning such leadership efforts as those of James Whittaker (first American to climb Mount Everest), Charles Huey and John Little, of Seattle. In cooperation with the Seattle Public Schools, the Seattle Park Department and the U.S. Coast Guard, they established camping, sailing, skiing, hiking and other outdoor recreational and wilderness survival opportunities for central city youth who could not otherwise afford to participate in such activities.
6. What federal funds are being used to support cultural and recreational programs in the metropolitan area? If such funds are used the same civil rights sanctions apply which hold for housing, transportation and education. The vehicles are the boards, administrators and patrons of the activities, community groups and federal civil rights enforcers. The forces are leadership; the action of the boards, the administrators and the patrons; the pressures of community groups; the enforcement of civil rights acts by the federal, state and local officials; and the action of the courts where plaintiffs have resorted to legal remedies.

1.3 *Identifying Needs*

Given evidence that isolation exists and that it exists to an extent which prevents school children from fully exercising their educational options (see Section 1.1), several questions may be posed to identify needs: *What are the areas of greatest community concern? Within what systems and subsystems do these areas fall? What vehicles and forces are at work to restrict, hinder or prohibit efforts to reduce isolation? What actions might be taken to enable,* *promote or require the reduction of isolation?*

1.3.1 Analyzing forces. By applying the force field illustrated on page 11, the vehicles and forces in each subsystem may be categorized according to the way in which they work against the reduction of isolation or toward it.

1.3.2 Listing needs according to priority. The results of the force field analysis may then be placed on a matrix such as that proposed in Figure 7. From this composite a list may be compiled of alternative actions aimed at moving the various vehicles. This list will then be arranged according to priority based upon judgments as to the urgency of needs, the resources available, the political situation and strategies holding the most promise for progress. For example, one may find from this process that the needs are: (1) to provide access to low-cost housing in certain suburbs; (2) to provide certain populations low-cost transportation to job opportunities, (3) to desegregate a portion or all of the schools; (4) to equalize the educational resources among the metropolitan districts; (5) to provide access to cultural and educational opportunities for identified isolated students.

Figure 7.
Potential for action in subsystems expressed in terms of vehicles and forces.

	ACTION					
SUBSYSTEM	ENABLE		PROMOTE		REQUIRE	
	Vehicle	Force	Vehicle	Force	Vehicle	Force
EDUCATION						
ECONOMICS						
HOUSING						
OTHER SUBSYSTEMS						

2.0 Involving

Forces to reduce isolation are released by and through groups, but the leadership and drive of individuals is necessary to begin and maintain involvement and movement. Such individuals may be persistent, concerned citizens or public officials. A judge's authority may be used to organize committees or to appoint masters to do so. A school board president or superintendent or a mayor may ask a citizen's committee to attack a problem of isolation.

These individuals may have some sophistication in organizing groups or they may be limited in experience. For the latter there are reference guides which may help. A National Neighbors Publication, *Desegregated Housing and Interracial Neighborhoods,* lists a number of helpful publications in Part 7: "Community and Neighborhood Organization, Citizen Participation, and Decentralized Local Government" (Beach, 1975, pp. 45-51). For school-oriented groups Chapter 10 of the book, *The School and Community Relations,* may provide guidance (Kindred, Bagin & Gallagher, 1976).

2.1 *Determining the Publics to be Involved*

We have earlier (Section 1.0) suggested ways of identifying the extent of isolation and the needs for action (Section 1.3). The next step is to identify the publics that should be informed of the progress of the identifying study and its results. These should be listed and those who might participate in further efforts identified.

2.2 *Inform the Public*

As an individual or group moves to involve others, the importance of organizing the data to express the needs with clarity and impact becomes evident. Without information which is placed in the context of the economic, social and environmental health of a region, citizens, represented by their institutions, are not likely to move short of crisis or mandate.

2.2.1 Who should receive information? An obvious answer is "everyone," but this is not possible. If a public body has the information it should be distributed as widely and as efficiently as the budget allows to the people served by that body. An individual having information might choose to share it with friends and with community groups, agencies, leaders and public officials who may be reasonably understanding and disposed toward reduction of isolation. At appropriate times media representatives should be briefed.

2.2.2 What information should be used? To help assess the public's readiness for receiving information it would be advisable to survey or poll its attitudes and opinions. In Louisville and Jefferson County attitudes were sampled by the Institute of Policy Sciences and Public Affairs (1976) of Duke University; the implications of the samplings were helpful in selecting the most promising strategies. Data gathered in Section 1.0, which show the degree of isolation, its historical influence and its impact upon the economic, social and psychological lives of people, should be clearly and concisely presented. Information which bears upon matters of justice and fairness, including information which has been gathered in a search for a legal remedy, will help show the full impact of isolation. Since most of us are motivated by self-interest, presentation should emphasize the benefits of reducing isolation as accruing to the widest possible range of people. Among these benefits, the long-range advantages to all the region's children should be stressed. Information which points to possible solutions may be further strengthened by pointing out that, unless movement is otherwise shown, remedies may come in the form of sweeping mandatory orders.

2.2.3 How should the information be presented? A public agency usually has the means for packaging information and distributing it to its constituencies. Efforts should be made to encourage pertinent public bodies to do so, accompanying their information releases with statements of officials regarding their stand on matters of reduction of isolation. The advantage is that if a public body has gathered information, established a need and enacted a policy, it has embarked on a direction and set up a force from which it can waiver only with a loss of integrity. This is particularly important in the case of public education. In commenting on school desegregation forces, Smith and Associates (1973) emphasize that "school officials should inform the community that desegregation is inevitable and establish definite policies on the manner in which the process will occur. This action should be taken as a means of maintaining their authority and reducing uncertainty about the effects of desegregation within the community" (p. 163).

Information being presented should be written logically and legibly. This will facilitate oral presentations, speeches and discussions, and media representatives will make more use of information given to them in this form. As almost every effort to reduce isolation becomes at some stage an emotional issue, the developers and presenters of information will want the logical, data-based information to fall back on when necessary.

Efforts to reduce isolation are newsworthy, so much so that participants must be prepared for overplay in the print and broadcast media. The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (1968) in reference to the 1967 disturbances stated: "We have found a significant imbalance between what actually happened in our cities and what the newspapers, radio and television coverage of the riots told us happened" (p. 236). Some newspaper publishers and television producers, although aware that exaggerated headlines and short, concentrated, out-of-context television shots inflame the public, feel they must operate on the basis of readership, poll ratings and advertiser whims.

Conferences with editors, reporters and station managers may help to reduce the intensity with which the media play up conflict and the bizarre or unusual. The purpose of the conferences would be to inform them of proposed strategies, solicit their input and to prepare jointly for the best coverage of both the planning and the implementing stages. The local organization of print and broadcast media should also be contacted for essentially the same purposes. If there is no such organization it may be worthwhile to initiate attempts to get one started. In the interim, or in lieu of this, an ad hoc group representing various local media might be instituted to discuss and plan for coverage of the proposed community changes.

School desegregation is to date the most publicized of efforts to reduce isolation. The roles that the media have played in the school desegregation process have differed greatly. As an example, local news media coverage of the Hillsborough County, Florida, desegregation may be compared with that of the national media in the Boston desegregation. The United States Commission on Civil Rights (1976a) reported:

> The news media of Hillsborough provided excellent coverage of the deliberations of the Citizens Desegregation Committee and kept the community informed as to all aspects of the desegregation plan.
>
> Most of the local media endorsed peaceful implementation of the plan and avoided sensationalism in reporting it. (p. 65)

Testimony before the Commission (1975) regarding Boston, however, indicated that the national television media depicted the sensational, the dramatic and the quick shots. The result was unbalanced coverage which was reflected in the emotional climate of the city (pp. 202-206). Local media are close to the problems, involved in both history and present issues, and interested in the future of the area. They are more able and apt to put the issues and actions into perspective than national television commentators. Concerned individuals and groups should impress upon the national networks the need for increased use of local media personnel on national network teams to at least partially ameliorate this situation.

In a metropolitan area there are, in addition to the major newspapers, a number of local or specialty papers that respond to certain constituencies. The suburban newspapers and the "shoppers" guides can be expected to reflect a white, middle-class suburban value-orientation. Similarly, minority editors of central city newspapers will often reflect a separatist point of view discounting the value of reducing isolation and editorializing negatively about white efforts toward that goal. Yet media leadership which disagrees with or is skeptical about efforts should not be ignored, but included with their peers in briefing conferences, provided with full information and solicited for their viewpoints and suggestions.

There are basic guidelines which, if adapted to fit local needs, will help to insure the best possible media presentation. The media organization or ad hoc committee mentioned above should be urged to frame such a set of guidelines and possibly to arrange workshops for their discussion. The following were suggested by experienced media representatives at a recent conference entitled "Covering the Desegregation Story" (Weinberg & Martin, 1976). Pertaining in this context primarily to school desegregation, they may be extrapolated to other situations involving efforts to reduce isolation. And although they may at first glance seem standard, even verging on the obvious, they become especially critical during periods of community stress and deserve emphasizing.

Guidelines

1. Prepare as far in advance as possible: Adequate preparation for covering the complex changes effected by efforts to reduce isolation takes a great deal of time and hard work.

2. Develop specialists: There should be a team of editors and staff writers or reporters who can learn the language and the issues, visit other communities and who work well together (Cohen, p. 51). Political writers and reporters should work particularly closely with their education counterparts during school desegregation (Stahl, p. 63). A converse but complementary tenet is to involve as many staff as possible over time; new people keep injecting new perspectives and new questions (Stahl, p. 63).

3. Background thoroughly: Synergistically, efforts to reduce isolation in one area frequently create complex reactions in the whole. School desegregation, for example, involves much more than moving pupils; it changes "virtually every aspect of (the) public school program: finance, curriculum, discipline, collective bargaining" (Nagengast, p. 43). Reporters will have to become well-versed in all of these areas, learn what statistics to seek out and how to interpret and verify them. They must also become skilled in translating the complex legal process into simple terms that lay people can understand (Cohen, p. 65). It might be helpful for the team assigned to cover such community issues to develop a fact book for the entire staff to use, with regular updates as backgrounding progresses (Stahl, p. 62). This information might also be shared with persons or groups in the community.

4. Develop as many diverse, reliable sources as possible and check and recheck every piece of information (Nagengast, p. 43): Reporters are advised to watch community groups as they may have a strong influence on local politicians (p. 43).

5. Be open to and represent all points of view: This involves comprehensive news coverage as well as the more pro forma letters-to-the-editor (Branscombe, p. 58). Humanize the story; profiles of people representing various viewpoints could be presented (Stahl, p. 63). Both of these efforts may help reduce tension and frustration.

6. Search out and answer the community's questions: This is not the same as telling the public what it wants to hear. "The standard . . . to try to reach is what are parents and children concerned about . . . what are their fears, their ideas . . . their hopes for desegregation?" (Bednarek, p. 67). Determination of the information gaps in a particular community might be made by conducting surveys of attitudes. The *Milwaukee Journal* found success in using a regularly run column for questions and answers, keeping both very simple and straightforward (Bednarek, p. 45).

7. Do some in-depth reporting: Historical and background material and analyses of the more subtle or long-range implications of current dynamics are not for all readers, but those people who are interested and who understand the material will then disseminate it in their own, frequently wide circles (Branscombe, p. 59).

2.2.4 When should information be released? One of the most perplexing problems of providing public information is that of properly timing its release. Sometimes participants will not have control over matters of timing, and nothing is more frustrating than to have information get out while ideas are partially formed, strategies insufficiently developed or the data not yet fully compiled. Misunderstanding, rumors and exaggerations are often the consequence. Perhaps a good rule to follow is that in all aspects of the identifying of need and strategizing, there should be maximum openness and involvement. Timing of releases really becomes an issue at the point of decision making, that is, when a governing body must decide whether or not to implement (see Section 4.1). Participants should carefully consider the context in which their requests or demands are made, so as not, for example, to request or demand that an authority make a controversial decision just before a crucial levy or bond voting or in the midst of a political election in which potentially receptive candidates would be placed in a compromising position.

2.3 *Involve the Public*

In reducing isolation there are two types of public involvement. One is involvement that is generated out of concern for the health of the metropolitan area, a voluntary involvement motivated by self-interest or a sense of community responsibility. The other is mandated by an authority such as a court of legislature.

In the first instance an individual may become informed and involved, may then inform others, organize ad hoc committees of like-minded persons and develop into a leader. In the second the mandating authority, a court, a school board or a mayor, may appoint individuals to serve as masters or members of a blue-ribbon panel with such responsibilities as making a study of problems and returning recommendations or monitoring compliance. These are usually ad hoc appointments and not expected to be permanent.

Sometimes very influential efforts develop from individual action. An example is the Coalition for Quality Integrated Education (CQIE) in Seattle, Washington. A few individual parents who were interested in both reducing isolation and improving education began to meet in their homes, and by telephone and word of mouth the movement grew. The group organized into CQIE and sought funds, becoming highly effective in promoting their goals. They established and operated a rumor center and have for a number of years published a paper, *In Touch,* which is a straightforward reporting on the Seattle integration process. CQIE obtained outside funding and remains in that city a respected, independent advocate of sensible methods to reduce isolation. This experience has application on a metropolitan-wide basis.

Another example of vigorous parent involvement is Northside Atlanta Parents for Public Schools (NAPPS), which is gathering support to keep white parents from fleeing to the suburbs or withdrawing their children to private schools. NAPPS began out of a parking lot discussion of two parents who decided to stop bemoaning white flight and begin to combat it. The resulting group of some 50 parents now claim credit for the return of 476 white students to the Atlanta schools. They have been able to convince other white parents that the city schools are good and that a multicultural environment is valuable to real-life education (Reeves, 1977).

An individual who wishes to go beyond a voluntary effort to involve the public in the reduction of isolation may resort to legal means. For help in exploring this route one might review the Housing Opportunities Council publication (1974), *Housing and Justice,* or the National Education Association's (1974) *Combatting Discrimination in the Schools: Legal Remedies* (see also publications of the Center for Law and Education). In Chapter IV Sacken has described a process whereby potential plaintiffs might assess the feasibility of metropolitan solutions in their particular area.

2.3.1 How and whom to involve. One basic guideline for setting up citizen involvement is that the manner in which it relates to the governing board and the administration should be carefully described (see "Community Involvement in Decision Making," National School Boards Association *Information Exhibit Samples,* EPS/NSBA File: KCB-E, Evanston, Illinois). Another guideline to consider is that it may be advisable to attempt to involve groups which represent both sides of an issue, as well as those who, for one reason or another, seem neutral. In Hillsborough County, the 156-member Community Desegregation Committee set up to help guide the court-ordered desegregation planning; implementation included, among others, students, members of the White Citizens Council and the National Welfare League, parents, newspaper editors, bankers and television managers. The committee was organized by school officials who "not only recruited the community's recognized leaders, but also sought out those people who had expressed the strongest feelings either for or against desegregation" (U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1973, p. 18).

Other efforts have not been so productive. In Boston, Pontiac, Louisville and other cities antagonistic organizations have stimulated lawlessness, violence and destruction. In still other instances, attempts to maintain membership of persons strongly opposed to the proposed efforts have slowed and sometimes stymied these efforts. Those setting up community groups should carefully consider local conditions as they weigh the type of membership for group involvement.

The use of a developmental process may hold the most promise for building a capacity to resolve metropolitan problems. In *Group Leadership and Democratic Action,* Franklyn Haiman (1951) sets forth ways in which group action might become a learning and growing process for all involved. A sense of this learning process is evident in the statements of the Los Angeles Citizens Advisory Committee on Student Integration (CACSI), an appointed committee of the 114 representing "almost every political and ethnic faction of our school district as well as of various municipal entities. . . ." The committee's (1977) report concludes: "most of us were strangers, both to each other and to the concern for integration . . . few of us have had other experiences of equal intensity as those faced in this effort to learn and discover and absorb during long hours so many different fact and perspectives . . . we have learned enormously from each other and from the pluralistic environment that is CACSI. We have discovered the rewards of an integrated process" (pp. 26-28).

We have spoken of the involvement of people from institutions and government, whose support is often critical. In cases of school desegregation it is almost axiomatic that where school boards take definite stands, enact firm policies and declare their intent to follow through, and where superintendents make strong statements of determination to carry out those policies, the process stands a good chance of going well. School board members, city council persons and state legislators are all politically seated as are the mayor and the governor. Consequently they usually respond to political pressures, and in cases involving reduction of isolation will often sidestep or try to ignore efforts to reduce isolation and, if forced, will resist or reject them.

Common positions of such politically oriented persons are that they believe in the ideal of reduction of isolation, but not in a proposed remedy; that they favor integration that is voluntary but believe the federal judge who orders it is wrong; that everyone should of course obey the law, but meanwhile pursue endless appeals or work toward a constitutional amendment to prohibit "forced busing."

But the political leaders should not be written off. There are a number who have been willing to take strong stands on what is best for the health of a metropolitan area. Many others are favorably disposed toward efforts to reduce isolation but become caught in a pragmatic dilemma: should they publicly support such efforts, thereby risking defeat at the next election by an extremist riding the issue? Or is it preferable to maintain a low profile and work quietly for reforms? The implications are clear: the stronger and more vocal and visible the constituency, the more likely it is that politicians will be able to respond positively. Timing, as mentioned briefly in Section 2.1.4, is particularly pertinent in making demands on politicians, as is the practice of using leadership and support developed in the private community to bolster such demands.

In school cases the force of the teacher unions has to be considered. Unions should be involved in all aspects of the development of a plan to reduce isolation in the schools. If the plan is voluntary a union may through negotiations demand requirements of seniority, class size, pedagogy and discipline that are not in the direction of reduction of isolation. If the plan is court-ordered the judge may override such considerations, or may, as one did in Milwaukee, direct that the administration and the union meet to jointly resolve differences and suggest a teacher staffing and in-service education plan which would meet constitutional requirements (*Armstrong V. O'Connell*, Civ.A.No. 65-C-173, [E.D.Wis. 1976]).

Local, state and federal regional officials. Almost every local government has a human rights department, an affirmative action officer or other official who has been given the responsibility of assuring that civil rights laws or affirmative action policies are carried out and who, in some cases, has the authority to investigate and aid in the resolution of human rights problems. These individuals are valuable components in efforts to bring about metropolitan solutions to problems of isolation. They may be supported in a metropolitan effort by their state counterparts, usually the human rights commission or department.

Federal enforcers of the various aspects of the federal civil rights laws may also be very influential in a region according to the vigor with which they enforce the laws. The Community Relations Service Division (CRS) of the Justice Department may be of particular assistance in mediation and conciliation of civil rights disputes. Unfortunately, in recent years, due to presidential political considerations federal enforcement has not been energetic (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1974b).

An especially effective form of involvement in school desegregation cases has been that of a special court-appointed master or masters, authorized to develop or to direct the development of remedies which meet constitutional requirements. In the Boston case Judge W. Arthur Garrity Jr. appointed a panel of eminent persons as masters to hold hearings and recommend a desegregation plan for the Boston Public Schools (Garrity, 1974). Judge John W. Reynolds appointed Dr. John A. Gronouski as Special Master in the Milwaukee case. Dr. Gronouski's involvement is of particular interest in that he not only held hearings and made recommendations to the court on the planned remedy, but has continued to monitor, evaluate and feed back to the court, the school administration and the citizens committee thoughtful conditions for improvement of the implementation. By using his authority firmly but patiently, he has been an important factor in the peaceful process there (see *Report of the Special Master*).

An individual or group acting in a voluntary effort or under court direction may wish to utilize an involvement process which continually presses toward programmatic solutions to stated needs. The Boston Metropolitan Planning Project employed such a process in various ways to obtain community and agency input not only on solutions but in the definition of the problems also (MPP, 1974). The work of Delbecq and Van de Ven (1971) as they designed their Program Planning Model (PPM) provides the basic structure of a process which builds a constituency of support as it unfolds (pp. 466-92). In Appendix C we have suggested a variation of this process which may be useful to those dealing with metropolitan projects in their involving phase.

2.3.2 Timing of involvement. After seeing evidence of the extent of isolation and its long history, the inclination may be to seek remedy by mandatory legal means. Indeed, this may be the appropriate approach, but involvement should always be based upon the conditions of a particular metropolitan area. In some places working to attain strong affirmative action may promise the most gains. Examples of this appear later in the text. In others, constituent pressure may bolster flagging political nerve. In a political sense doing what is right as a matter of public legislative policy is much healthier for a democracy than passing the problem on to the courts. Other tactics failing, a person or class of persons whose rights have been violated may ultimately have to go to court. This unfortunately has been the only route open to many plaintiffs when legislative, administrative and private organizations have said in effect, "we are too timid to act to protect your rights until the court orders us to do so."

2.4 *Developing Goals Through Involvement*

After assessing the problems and the needs, the next step is to set forth goals for solving or meeting them. We have proposed above a process for doing this but there are less-complicated ways. A group may simply decide that the priority goals are in housing, or in jobs, transportation or education, and having set a direction, may then list the outcomes it desires. It is by forcing the group to define goals and to specify outcomes that the issues are taken from an emotional context and placed in one of problem solving.

These differing approaches to involvement suggest the need for two interwoven sets of goals. One is the stating of goals in terms of product — that is, the desired outcome of the process. The other is the stating of goals in terms of the process itself. Both are essential to systematic planning.

3.0 Developing Strategies

3.1 *Develop Planning Criteria*

Having set forth the needs and begun involving the public in the formulation of goals, the group must next establish criteria which will be standards to guide the planning process. These should be derived from the needs and goals and should reflect the realities of the particular metropolitan area under study.

If the planning group is an ad hoc community group it will undoubtedly establish its own criteria; if it is appointed it may be given some criteria by the appointing authority. General guiding criteria will probably include the following although undoubtedly many others will be generated:

Trauma Will Be Minimized.

The problems associated with ethnic isolation in America are so deep and complex that almost any movement to resolve them will be accompanied by emotional agony. The kind of change needed is difficult. Whatever is done to reduce disruption to the least amount necessary to achieve the required change, will be beneficial in the long run. Under some circumstances unavoidable conflicts may be turned into valuable learning experiences. This takes a positive attitude and the view that in the process of change *everyone*, not just school children, learns. If school and community leaders can be made to perceive the experience in this way, trauma may be minimized considerably.

Communities of the Entire Metropolitan Area Will Be Informed and Involved.

Ordinarily if there is broad participation in the assessment of isolation and the planning for its reduction, a large portion of the public will be informed. Yet much information is distorted, rumors flow and fears proliferate. A rumor control center which dispenses accurate information and answers all questions will save those directly involved in other aspects of planning and implementation a great deal of time and effort.

Equality Among Ethnic Groups Will Be Sought.

Often in well-intentioned efforts to reduce isolation there have been heavier burdens placed on, or more opportunities accruing to, one group than another. For example, in some desegregation cases black children are assigned to formerly all-white schools, but white children are not reassigned; black schools are closed, but white schools are not; black history is taught, but white ethnic history is not. Inequities may be minimized by having planning advisory committees equally representative of the minorities and majorities affected. In this way it will be clear that the process of working toward reduction of isolation is also a process of shared decision making.

The Quality of Services Will Be Improved.
The meaning of the word "quality" is of course debatable. The quality of housing, police and fire protection and garbage collection may more reasonably be measured, but the search for the meaning of "quality" in education has a long history of controversy. The problem has the continued attention of qualified teachers. It would provide sufficient time and direction for each student to achieve in reading, speaking, writing and calculating. It would provide a broad choice of options with opportunities for both the talented and for those needing compensatory and remedial work.

Those To Be Involved in Implementation Will Also Be Involved in the Planning.
In education there is a hackneyed but true adage that unless teachers and principals participate in planning at the building and classroom level, the chances of smooth, productive implementation of any plans are restricted. The principal is the key to the educational climate of an individual school and sets an example by action and attitude for the faculty, student body and community (see *School Climate Improvement,* 1973). A principal's leadership may also spill over beyond a single school. Some of the most auspicious programs of the Boston Metropolitan Planning Project have been those in which central city and suburban principals have reached across district boundaries to help reduce student isolation (*Directory,* Metropolitan Planning Project, 1974). But it is from the superintendents and their staffs that one may look for and expect leadership for district-wide and metropolitan-wide solutions.

Leadership exists in many forms and at many levels; the planning process which includes all or most of the employees of an organization or institution has a much better chance of working than one which excludes a portion of them. In Hillsborough County, Florida, for example, the superintendent involved not only teachers and administrators, but secretaries, custodians, bus drivers and other employees in designing and carrying out its desegregation program (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1973, p. 18).

Attention Will Be Given to Providing Security for Children, Personnel and Facilities.
Because efforts to reduce isolation often bring parental fears and concerns about possible disruptions and violence, preventative measures and crisis contingency planning should be included in the criteria, with assurances based on these steps made to all parents. This is especially important when public anxiety has been stimulated by media play and the actions of antagonistic groups. This does not imply that trouble is inevitable; much of the fear comes from the news media's practice of exaggerating the importance of incidents. It does mean that planners must recognize the need to respond to these public concerns and to make provisions for the maintenance of discipline and order.

Where a planning group has been established by legislative or administrative mandate, that mandate also usually details planning criteria. A court order often contains quite specific constitutional and legal criteria. Sometimes a court will delegate planning responsibility to an equity court, a master or a court-designated planning group. To achieve the constitutionally required desegregation the court usually sets forth guidelines for: student and faculty assignment; variances in assignment for kindergarten children, bilingual programs, high school seniors, sports programs; distribution of finances and resources; reasonableness of transportation in terms of time and distance; timing for implementation; disposition of hardship cases; appeal procedures and other aspects.

3.2 *Develop Data Base for Planning*
In Section 1.0 considerable data were compiled to determine the extent of isolation and to pinpoint the subsystems most involved, and many of these data may now be used in the development of plans of action. But since other information will have to be sought and at this stage of planning it would be wise to establish a *data-gathering network.* This will entail the identification of the sources of information, facts, studies and plans that have bearing on resolution of the problem (see Feld, Chapter IV).

Demographic data are fundamental to planning. In addition to the kind of up-to-date information described in Section 1.0, community "profiles" of significant demographic data which may have been developed by regional planning agencies will be useful.

Also, reasonably accurate projections are needed. This entails examining historical trends, then using refined statistical methods to make educated guesses about the future. Such projections are usually available from the planning offices of local government agencies, particularly metropolitan or regional planning commissions or authorities. Every school district estimates its future staff and space needs based upon estimates of student population. Often the department of economics or of urban planning in local universities has developed ways of projecting population characteristics. Projections beyond five years are highly suspect since people seem much too perverse to live up to the statistical expectations of the demographer.

For planning purposes the following are useful:

1. Total population of the metropolitan area by age and ethnic group.
2. Population by geographical units, usually census tracts, by race and age.
3. School enrollments by ethnic group, grade and school, including private schools.

If transferred to transparent map overlays the projection will give a view of possible population shifts. When these overlays are displayed above significant data gathered and mapped in Section 1.2, useful planning patterns may be revealed as the variables associated with isolation are seen in geographical relationship with one another. After careful study of this configuration, planners may, with an erasable marking pencil, outline the areas of isolation. This is the beginning of the development of optional strategies.

The computer is a powerful tool for handling data. Many planning departments of municipalities and school districts now use techniques such as computer mapping and geocoding. Programs have been developed to show the variables listed above and to provide different combinations of them for analysis (see *GRIDS: A Computer Mapping System.* A bureau of the Census Use Study, 1972). Geocoding programs have been designed to plot demographic features on a map in very small geographic grids. With geocoding the planners may simulate complicated strategies for reduction of student isolation, such as adjusting school attendance boundaries and pairing city-suburban schools, generating alternative transportation routes and locating the most desirable magnet school sites. Geocoding lends itself to the processing of school enrollment data since up-to-date information about school children, including places of residence, is usually maintained by school districts. Many school districts within metropolitan areas have developed this capacity, and the Seattle Public Schools, working in collaboration with the University of Washington, have been among the most advanced. School District Manager of Educational Data Systems, Joseph Hanegan, reports that in 1976 the Seattle district used the geocoding system, among other things, to:

1. Select and assign middle school students for desegregation.
2. Identify students eligible for transportation and produce:
   a. Bus cards for the students.
   b. Groupings of students for bus routing and scheduling purposes.
3. Model the effect of simulated school closures on:
   a. Walking distance of students.
   b. Impact on capacities of surrounding schools.
   c. Resulting ethnic balance.
4. Review ethnic balance by school boundaries to identify any potential for improving ethnic balance.
5. Review the location of special education students by program category to see where the best sites for the programs would be, thereby making it more convenient for the student and minimizing transportation requirements.
6. Monitor the effectiveness of transfer policy on ethnic balance as influenced by the transfer policy (see also Appendix D).

3.4 *Develop Optional Strategies*

Having listed needs according to priority, identified vehicles and forces to be activated and gathered a substantial data base, one may begin the designing of strategies. A strategy may be as narrow as a single vehicle with a single force. Often tightly defined objectives which seem a small drop in the deluge of needs may produce significant results. Sometimes conditions demand comprehensive changes with strategies which may involve a combination of vehicles and forces. An example of the latter is the imaginative and sweeping strategy proposed for the Atlanta metropolitan area by Daniels (see Chapter IV).

Strategies may be of many types, from voluntary to mandatory. In our force field (see Figure 5) they may lie along the line from *enabling* to *promoting* to *requiring*. Which forces to employ in a strategy depends on the local situation; political realities, institutional constraints or timing considerations are determinants in the decision. In exasperation the temptation will be to move to the mandatory, the required, without having first studied what has been and what might be done by enabling and promoting forces. This is understandable. Those who have had the doors of access to the benefits of American society closed to them by discrimination have been patient but have little reason to be patient with voluntary methods. As we have emphatically said before, voluntary means are insufficient to provide school desegregation. They may well be insufficient for relief in any case. Yet to jump to mandatory strategies without first exploring others might be to ignore two considerations: (a) that there are numerous examples of progress in reducing isolation, which have been made by enabling and promoting forces, and (b) voluntary strategies may be made more effective by holding mandatory strategies as back-ups. It may be possible to achieve the goals without bringing the back-up into force. At present there are sufficient laws, rules, regulations, guidelines and court decisions which if enforced fully would mandate considerable opening of access and reduction of isolation. The possibility of enforcement or of court action may provide an incentive for enabling and promoting forces to be effective.

Optional strategies may be developed for attacking isolation wherever it exists and in any subsystem or combination of subsystems. It would be far too involved for us to suggest ways of developing strategies in each subsystem. Therefore, we will give examples of possibilities in the related areas of housing and public education.

3.4.1 Developing optional housing strategies. Let us suppose that a citizen action group concerned about isolation in education has gone through the process of identifying needs as described above, singling out the housing subsystems as a cause of isolation. The group involved by the process outlined in Section 2.0 has discovered, by examining the various data available, including the survey conducted in accordance with the state's application plan under U.S. Public Law 93-383 (the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974), that the metropolitan area: (1) lacks a sufficient stock of housing for low- and moderate-income persons and (2) has ethnically segregated housing patterns, indicative of a lack of access of minority persons to broad housing options. The latter is determined to be at least partially related to (a) the reluctance of some local suburban governments to approve the establishment of low- and moderate-income housing both by zoning practices and by refusal to accept housing projects, (b) the fragmentation of the housing market in the metropolitan area with corresponding discriminatory practices of the real estate industry, and (c) the tactics of lending institutions, primarily redlining mortgages.

After identifying the need the group came to consensus on several goals:

1. To work for an increase in the total housing stock in the metropolitan area.

2. To open minority access to suburban housing by:
    a. Obtaining enabling statutes from local suburban governments for low- and moderate-income housing, for both purchase and rent.
    b. Gaining affirmative action within the real estate industry for centralized housing listings and for showings for minority persons throughout the area.
    c. Providing information about present minority suburbanites to minority persons who are prospective home buyers.

3. To promote the renovation of the older housing stock of the central city.

4. To foster the stability of integrated neighborhoods.

As planning criteria they listed the following:

1. The living and learning environments for children will be improved.

2. Integrated neighborhoods will be preserved.

3. Adults with school age children will be the major population consideration.

4. Metropolitan solutions will be sought.

5. Voluntary strategies will precede mandatory ones.

After examining their metropolitan situation the group designed a two-step approach to attain its goals:

Step One — to develop alternative strategies for attaining the goals;

Step Two — to engage other groups and individuals to help in carrying out the strategies.

In Step One, to move toward the increase of housing stock in the metropolitan area the group decided on strategies which would involve both the public and private sectors. These strategies were:

1. To utilize the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974 as a force and the state and local governments as vehicles for both increasing the number of new houses and renovating older ones. This act has as one of its primary goals "the reduction of isolation of income groups within communities and geographical areas and the promotion of an increase in the diversity and vitality of neighborhoods through the special decentralization of housing opportunities for persons of lower income. . . ." The Act also requires the framing of an area-wide plan, to be reviewed by the regional planning agency. The purpose of the planning process is to provide citizens with information and an opportunity to participate in the development of the application.

The group carefully examined the recommendation for metropolitan-wide residential desegregation advanced by the United States Commission on Civil Rights (1974a). The Commission urged Congress to enact legislation requiring states to establish metropolitan housing and community development agencies as a prerequisite to receiving federal housing or community development grants. The membership of these agencies, as representative of the political subdivisions, would act as public housing authorities and would be eligible for participation in federally subsidized housing programs (p. 69). Recognizing the need for such action, the group decided to support the Commission's recommendations and so inform its congressional delegation. In the meantime it focused attention on state and local government planning and implementation under the Community Development Act of 1974.

The group decided (a) to insist that the highest priority be given to the Act's housing assistance section, and that the housing assistance plan which each local government is required to develop conform to the Act's goals of area-wide decentralization and greater choice in housing; and (b) to obtain enabling legislation from local governments for their participation in a metropolitan-wide plan for housing. These goals would be accomplished by mounting an information service to established organizations which had been interested in improving the living environment for children, followed by an organizational effort to promote metropolitan-wide coalition of such organizations for political action in local governmental areas.

Starting with persuasive efforts and moving to political action, the group sought ways of using the incentive of the Housing and Community Development Act to encourage local governmental units that had not yet submitted a plan to do so. Where a plan had already been submitted the group made a study to determine whether the plan included the participation of the local government in an area-wide housing effort. If it did not, pressure was brought to bear to have the plan disapproved until the housing assistance plan met this standard.

2. To work with lending institutions to reduce or eliminate redlining. The group discovered from the analysis done under Section 1.2 that there was evidence of pervasive discrimination in home mortgages against areas within the metropolitan region; this discrimination occurred primarily in areas in which the houses were older, in need of renovation, close to commercial or industrial uses, or in neighborhoods that were ethnically integrated or transitional. The group decided to work with representatives of the major lending institutions to develop a voluntary affirmative action program for mortgages.

The group decided to pattern its voluntary strategy after that which the Citywide League of Neighborhoods developed in Atlanta, Georgia. The League, a coalition of neighborhood organizations, met with representatives of local financial institutions and of Central Atlanta Progress (CAP), a downtown business organization devoted to keeping the central city a viable place for living and doing business. The result of the meeting was an inner-city lending consortium of 17 local banks and savings and loan associations, which pledged at least $62.7 million over a five-year period for mortgage loans on new homes and rehabilitation loans to purchase and renovate older ones. The program was based upon the belief that "urban properties are not necessarily riskier investments than suburban properties" and that past problems were due simply to the fact that appraisers were not sure how to approach urban residential properties (Levinson, 1975). These positions were validated by the experiences of banks such as the South Shore National Bank which does almost all its lending in an old Chicago neighborhood. Bank president Ron Grzywinski, recently reporting earnings comparable to other banks of similar size, stated that "investing in community development is compatible with higher earnings" (Shanahan, 1976).

Other optional strategies considered were (a) the pursuing of an incentive plan such as that devised by former Colorado State Treasurer Sam Brown, which would deposit state funds on a preferential basis in banks engaging in constructive lending policies; (b) the creation by the state legislature of a community development finance corporation, following the pattern of the one approved by the Massachusetts legislature in the fall of 1976 to make equity investments in low-income neighborhoods; and (c) a demand for enforcement of federal laws against discriminatory action in lending. By using evidence obtained from the disclosures of lending institutions required under the Home Mortgage Disclosure Act, the group proposed to insist that the Federal Reserve Board, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation and the Comptroller of the Currency enforce laws prohibiting discrimination in the granting of home mortgage credit.

3. To reduce the fragmentation of the private housing market and to provide a unitary information system that will give potential buyers or renters current data on the available housing units. In pursuing this strategy the group examined the work of Rosser and White (1975). In the Chicago metropolitan area these authors found that the fragmentation of the real estate marketing system had produced monopolistic controls that restrained and discouraged minority persons from obtaining housing close to otherwise available suburban jobs. They found that there were 29 multiple listing services (MLS) in the area, of which only one was black. This set up a dual market for real estate sales as each MLS tended to control its own turf. In both the sales and rental markets there were so many intermediaries that prospective buyers or renters became discouraged. Besides the problems of intermediaries, minority buyers or renters had a confusing information system to negotiate in search of published listings, and there was a need not only for information about location, type, cost and other pertinent data about housing, but also for assurances to potential minority buyers or renters that other minority families had moved to the suburbs without psychological or physical abuse.

The authors propose a unified metropolitan marketing system. The force of the unified marketing system would be a statute that sets up a mechanism for assembling a complete, up-to-date listing of all sales and rental vacancies, along with significant information about each, such as price, location, number of bedrooms and contact person. The statute would also require the processing of data to keep them current, an affirmative effort to seek out potential clients and provide them with counseling as well as information and a monitoring component to assure compliance.

Several alternative structures are proposed by the authors for implementing the law: a state-run department, a public corporation, much like a public utility, or a contract with a nonprofit organization or a commercial service. Although they do not completely analyze the cost of such a system, they suggest that the $30 fee ordinarily charged by commercial rental locator services be studied as a comparative base and that consideration be given to a state tax on leasing of residential property for partial support of the proposal.

The study group also carefully examined the process by which the Washington, D.C., area's *Homeseeker's Guide* was developed and put into use. This excellent how-to-do-it booklet explains how the Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies (a) conducted action research on bias in newspaper real estate advertising and developed procedures for eliminating it; (b) negotiated a cooperative agreement with the Veteran's Administration for identification of black veterans; (c) campaigned to get an executive order requiring federal department's attention to the availability of low- and moderate-cost housing near federal sites; and (d) developed a homeseeker's guide to help people under the Federal Fair Housing Act and obtained the commitment of all D.C. local jurisdictions to cooperate in its publication (Grier, 1974).

Our group, believing that all enabling and promoting efforts of the past had not helped significantly to reduce discrimination in the private housing market, decided to pursue legislation similar to that advanced by the Governor of Illinois' Commission on Mortgage Practices, which proposes that:

a. Every licensed real estate broker in the state would report to the Commissioner of Real Estate every residential sale and rental property he or she was handling, along with a continuing monthly update of the disposition of the listing.

b. The Commissioner of Real Estate would organize and computerize the information reported by *the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area* (SMSA). The Commissioner would make such comprehensive listing available to the public on a monthly basis at convenient county sites throughout the state.

c. Any broker refusing to participate in this unified marketing system would immediately lose his or her license to do business in the state (Rosser & White, 1975).

Our group was interested in the revitalization of central city housing as another means of stimulating integrated neighborhoods. Its work toward eliminating redlining was helpful in this respect. But the group discovered that there was little incentive for middle-class persons, whatever their ethnicity, to settle or stay in the city. In fact, the incentives were mainly for the middle class to move to the suburbs.

A study was made of various efforts to encourage stable, integrated neighborhoods. Members of the group visited Shaker Heights, Ohio, an integrated community that has demonstrated reasonable stability over the years. They read *Side by Side: Integrated Neighborhoods in America* (Bradburn, 1971), which gave examples of a number of successful ethnically integrated communities and pinpointed the associated problems.

The group examined pertinent programs, including Baltimore's Residential Environmental Assistance Loan (REAL) project which is aimed at renovation of city housing, and Pittsburg's Neighborhood Housing Services (NHS), founded in 1968 by residents of that city. The group was particularly impressed with the NHS partnership of city officials, lending institutions and citizens, which made low-interest loans available, and provided sensible and sensitive code enforcement and counseling for home ownership problems and construction difficulties. It seemed to members of the group that this type of program, when coordinated with the potentialities of the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974, would significantly diminish the disadvantages of city housing.

The group took note of the negative possibilities of middle-class influx into central city neighborhoods. They saw the evidence in Washington, D.C., where affluent whites restoring Victorian row houses in certain sections of the city had disrupted the lives of individual residents in the area and had in effect driven the poor out. If the bonus has been an integrated middle-class neighborhood, the cost has been relocation and a reduction of housing for the poor. Therefore, the group developed a strategy to obtain the advantages of both by pursuing developments which were integrated socioeconomically as well as ethnically. In doing so it adopted various tactics from the Massachusetts Housing Finance Agency (MHFA), created in 1966 to encourage the development of such ethnically and economically integrated neighborhoods. There are many other examples of these kinds of efforts.

Members also studied the potentials of urban homesteading, which began in Wilmington. Their overall plan relied upon using incentives provided by the

Housing and Community Development Act of 1974, which includes plans to give away some 77,000 houses to those willing to rehabilitate and reside in them for a specified period of time.

3.4.2 Developing metropolitan educational options. For those who will be engaged in the search for educational options we suggest three books: *Metropolitan Schools: Administrative Decentralization vs. Community Control* (Ornstein, 1972), *Reforming Metropolitan Schools* (Ornstein, Levine & Wilkerson, 1975) and *Statement on Metropolitan School Desegregation* (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1977). Also, for a comprehensive review of desegregation literature they obtained the National Institute of Education's (1976) *The Desegregation Literature: A Critical Appraisal.*

The model outlined in Chapter I may be of use in the conceptualization of strategies. The force field representation of *ENABLE, PROMOTE* and *REQUIRE* provides a basis for categorizing strategies through the use of indicators of progress: *knowledge, contact, compensation, equality in decision-making authority, equality in fiscal resources, equality in status* and *equalization of access.* We view the reduction of isolation as including all of these indicators. In actual practice they interact; one is insufficient without the others — we have separated them only for descriptive purposes.

Depending on the needs described in Section 1.4, optional strategies may be developed as follows:

Strategies based upon *knowledge.* Let us assume that a study had identified a disparity in the multicultural curricular offerings of the various metropolitan school districts. Some districts had made a significant effort to provide children with a systematic curriculum containing the history and contributions of the major cultural groups of the country. Other districts had done almost nothing. From a survey, the group found that in some states the legislatures had passed laws requiring multicultural curricular offerings; in others the state boards of education had enacted resolutions to that effect. Colorado's Bilingual Bicultural Education Act is an example of a design to develop cultural and ethnic pride and understanding among members of the target groups and other students. As there was no such authority for curricular change in its home state, the group planned first to work through local boards and then to concentrate on state action, if necessary, to obtain it.

The study group decided to pursue two goals. One was to get each school board to adopt a policy enabling and directing their administration to provide a multicultural curriculum. The other was to induce the various school administrations of the metropolitan area to collaborate in developing such a curriculum for use in all districts.

To accomplish the first goal the following steps were planned:

1. Identify citizens in each district who would be willing to take the request for a policy to their particular school board and to their superintendent of schools.
2. Identify teacher leaders who would be willing to convince the local teacher associations within each district that the association should have a policy which could be negotiated with the school board.
3. Develop a model policy for presentation to each school board. Such a policy might read:

   It is recognized that our American society is constituted from many races, cultures and ethnic backgrounds and that each contributes to the worth and vitality of the total society. Therefore it shall be the policy of this school board that the curriculum of every school in this district include learning materials and pedagogical practices which emphasize the history and contributions of the major racial, cultural and ethnic groups which make up our society.

   The superintendent of schools is hereby directed to assure that such a curriculum is developed. The curriculum will have a scope and sequence such that all children will be involved at every level of their school careers. The superintendent shall also assure that the administrative and teaching staff of all schools are adequately prepared to effectively and positively utilize such curriculum. Implementation of this policy will begin no later than (date).

4. Propose a policy for action by the state board of education which requires all districts to provide multicultural education.
5. Propose certification laws requiring that teachers be prepared in the understanding of multicultural aspects of our society and in methods of teaching them.

Recognizing the importance of leadership, the study group sought strong statements of support for this effort from official leaders, the governor, the mayor, the superintendent and business, labor and agency heads.

To accomplish the second goal the group developed the following strategies:

1. Explore existing collaborative arrangements between districts. Determine whether these would provide a vehicle for development and disbursal of multicultural curricula on a metropolitan basis.

In many states there are intermediate units established under state statute to provide services on a regional basis. Some states have authorized the voluntary formation of cooperative arrangements (see Lowe, 1976). But if there is enabling legislation and a mechanism for collaboration of districts this may be the most feasible way to proceed.

2. Develop a broad outline of a proposal for metropolitan-wide multicultural programs. Present the proposal to the governing board of the interdistrict collaborative as well as to the superintendents of all metropolitan districts. This presentation will be made by local community groups with strong representation from each ethnic community.

3. Urge each school district board in the metropolitan area to promulgate a policy of interdistrict cooperation in multicultural curriculum development and distribution. Such a policy might be a supplement to the one above:

> It shall be the policy of this school board to cooperate with other school boards in the metropolitan area in the development and use of multicultural curricula and materials. The superintendent is hereby directed to affirmatively seek ways to facilitate such cooperation.

An optional strategy considered by the group was that of the Metro Ethnic Heritage Research Centers (MEHRC) of the Boston metropolitan area. Developed by a collaborative of 17 districts, the MEHRC has as its goal the involvement of the various ethnic communities of the Boston area in the development of curricular materials that tell the story of their history and culture in the region. This approach was developed in the belief that ethnic history must essentially emanate from ethnic communities, that local communities are rich with resources and that multicultural understanding to a large degree derives from the feelings and spirit with which local ethnic groups convey their story.

A number of Boston groups took the leadership in this development, including the Museum of Afro-American History, the Afro-American Resource Center, the Hispanic Culture Curriculum Project, the Chinese-American Resource Center, the Native-American Cross Cultural Program and the Metropolitan Cultural Alliance. Coordinated by MEHRC, their approach was to inventory the existing resources, historic sites, cultural materials, regional folklore, people, agencies, organizations and resource centers; to evaluate literature and existing materials, to conduct research; to prepare reading materials and learning aids; and to design exhibits for schools and classrooms. The resource centers are open to students and teachers throughout the metropolitan area. Assistance is given to school systems and personnel in the use of the materials and the publications are distributed to libraries, schools, community institutions and to colleges and universities (Metropolitan Planning Project, 1974; MEHRC Booklets 1 and 2).

The study group also drew from the reference materials compiled by the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (1976). These reference materials contain annotated bibliographies of a number of publications on multicultural curricula as well as descriptions of actual programs. Classroom materials and strategies are included in the references as is an extensive matrix for retrieving supplementary materials from ERIC (Education Resource and Information Center).

Educational strategies based on *contact.* These are ways in which students of different ethnic backgrounds are brought into contact with one another. There are three major purposes of these strategies. The first is the educational-sociological purpose, that of reducing prejudice and stereotyping, increasing understanding and broadening access into life options. The political purpose is to ease tensions between ethnic groups, reduce unrest and perhaps avoid court action by providing more desegregation. Third is the aim of achieving desegregation, based on the belief that separate education is inherently unequal and unjust. Depending on the purpose, the strategies will differ.

Voluntary efforts are valuable in reducing isolation. They provide a springboard

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for educational improvements and greater parent and student involvement. They may stimulate the development of magnet schools and alternative programs, but one must be careful that such programs do not become a new form of tracking in which middle-class children of all backgrounds are channeled into status schools, magnets and alternative programs, while the children of the poor become more segregated.

Contact strategies range from those enabled to those required. In the past they have been employed in varying degrees and combinations within school district jurisdictions, although there have been some notable efforts to extend their use across district boundaries. We emphasize again that voluntary efforts do not achieve desegregation, nor should the voluntary approach be used to buy immunity from a possible future court requirement of a constitutional remedy. Voluntarism may open options to increasing numbers of students, but it has not in the past involved sufficient numbers of children from all geographic areas to meet the constitutional requirements of justice, and holds little promise of doing so in the future. Those who make such claims mislead the public and do a disservice to the entire effort to reduce isolation.

The common alternative contact strategies have been listed and described by the Illinois Office of Education in their *Planning Guide for Equal Educational Opportunity:*

> 1. School pairing and groupings: to merge two or more schools located close to each other, with contiguous attendance zones and serving the same grades. Children in particular grades are assigned to one school, and those in remaining grades are assigned to the other school or schools.
>
> 2. Grade reorganization: for example, to constitute primary schools K-3, middle schools 4-6, junior high schools 7-9, and high schools 10-12, or any other grade combination.
>
> 3. Alteration of school and school district attendance zones and boundaries: for example, utilizing site selection procedures to place new schools between segregated neighborhoods thereby achieving desegregated schools, or to create new attendance zones for existing schools.
>
> 4. Pupil reassignments and such optional transfers as are consistent with legal requirements: to relieve racial segregation by transporting children from their former attendance areas to schools in other parts of the city. In some cases, not all of the children being reassigned to desegregated schools need transportation.
>
> 5. Establishment of educational parks and plazas: to locate several schools on one large campus and under one administrative jurisdiction to serve all students in the school district. This type of plan would help eliminate difficulties in planning for estimated population growth for a small area. Although major construction is normally involved initially, the concept has more potential for offering innovative and specialized facilities.
>
> 6. Rearrangements of school feeder patterns from elementary to junior high to high school.
>
> 7. Voluntary metropolitan or interdistrict cooperative plan: to desegregate with cooperation between suburban and central city school systems or other contiguous school districts.
>
> 8. Centralized schools: to utilize in small communities a central facility for several grades serving the entire school district. In communities with a larger number of schools, central schools can be established by making the whole district a single attendance zone for all students in one or two grades. When a central school is created, the attendance areas for the remaining schools can be enlarged. The special needs of the system should be assessed to determine how the building might be most effectively used. Such a facility could be used to house an adult education center, a day care center or a curricula resource center.
>
> 9. Specialized or magnet schools: to develop or maintain a program of such high quality in a school that students of all racial backgrounds will be attracted to it regardless of its location.
>
> 10. Open enrollment: to offer students the opportunity to transfer from the school they normally attend to another school which is underutilized and outside of the student's attendance area. Experience has shown that this option is generally used by minority-group students who move to a majority-white school under such a plan; however, its effectiveness is limited by space available in the predominantly white schools.
>
> 11. School closing: to enlarge school attendance areas by closing a particular school and dispersing its students among the remaining schools in the district. Recommendations should be made concerning other uses that could be made of the closed facility.
>
> 12. New school site selection: to choose new, especially desirable sites considering the location of students, transportation terminals, parks, museums or industries which can provide students with part-time work or where young children's parents are employed. The

sites must be in keeping with the elimination and prevention of racial segregation.

13. Any other plan which eliminates and prevents racial segregation in schools (pp. 9-10).

All of these except number 7 relate to strategies within school districts. But they each have possible application across district boundaries and on a metropolitan scale.

Nearly every state has precedents for interdistrict cooperation of one kind or another — for vocational schools, special education, gifted programs, computer use, purchasing arrangements and many other purposes. Some state legislatures have passed enabling legislation permitting students to cross school district boundaries for the purpose of reducing ethnic isolation, and over the years many such voluntary efforts have been made. Among these are the Boston area Metropolitan Council for Educational Opportunity (METCO), which has been operating for a number of years; the Metropolitan Rochester Urban/Suburban Interdistrict Transfer Program; and CONCERN of Hartford and New Haven. The experience of such programs has been that the transfers are overwhelmingly one way — that is, minority children transferring to suburban schools, with few if any white children transferring to city schools. These programs have required the consent of each participating school district and the transfer of tuition from one school district to another.

The State of Washington has enabled interdistrict cooperation in the construction of facilities with state financial support; this provision has been eyed for possible use in building magnet centers for use in reducing metropolitan isolation (codified as RCW 29A.58.075). It also has a tuition-free provision for interdistrict cooperation contracts between the districts and will give additional weighting in state support to districts with approved transfer programs (Supt. of Public Instruction Rules, WAY Chapter 392-135-025).

Wisconsin has gone beyond enabling. It *promotes* interdistrict transfers with a law facilitating "the transfer of students between schools and between school districts to promote cultural and racial integration in education" (State of Wis. Chapter 220 Laws of 1975). Incentives in the law are aimed at both the individual student and the school districts. They are an enticement to the school districts because no loss of state aid is involved and because there is an additional financial incentive for the receiving district. The student incentives are the provision of transportation and the broadening of educational options. However, a student's choice is limited by the willingness of a board to agree to transfer arrangements, as the Wisconsin law requires an agreement between the student's school board district of residence and the board of the district of attendance. Therefore, any group pursuing this type of interdistrict transfer alternative must develop means for convincing school boards of the desirability of such permissive policies.

The idea of paying a bonus for interdistrict integration of students is carried a step further by the "Model Integration Incentive Act" presented to the California legislature in the spring of 1977. The Act provides for a bonus to a district sending a student to a school in another district to improve ethnic balance, equal to the difference the sending district would pay as tuition and what it could save by not educating that student. A copy of the Model Act may be obtained from its authors, John Coons and Stephen Sugarman, Boalt Hall, University of California at Berkeley.

A step *promoting* transfers would be a law which would give a student the choice, based upon state guidelines for reducing ethnic isolation, to attend *any* school within the metropolitan area. Such legislation would broaden the voluntary options for students considerably.

However, enabling legislation for interdistrict transfer that merely allows open enrollment on a space basis has potential dangers. Experience demonstrates that white students have often used this type of provision as a means of avoiding integrated schools, thus contributing to increased segregation. A state requirement that students be allowed to transfer only if they leave a school where they are in the majority to attend a school where they are in the minority would help prevent abuses in open enrollment.

Another effort by a state legislature to both *enable* and *promote* voluntary contact among ethnically different students is that of the Commonwealth of Mas-

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sachusetts. In its amended Racial Imbalance Law of 1974, the legislature provided incentives for the development of magnet schools (Section 8, Chapter 636, Subsection 37I and 37J). In the law's regulations a magnet school facility is defined as:

> a racially balanced public school or part thereof that attracts pupils on a voluntary basis from outside the neighborhood in which it is located for the purpose of reducing or eliminating racial imbalance or racial isolation and that attracts students because of unique or innovative characteristics of the program or activities offered, the staff, the available resources, the curriculum, or other dimensions of the overall educational experience.

The regulations go on to define what is meant by the term magnet educational program:

> educational measures including, but not limited to, planning and special services, instruction, or treatment of children, whether at the public school or other public or private facility or place; and that provide children with a racially balanced educational experience. (Department of Education, the Commonwealth of Mass., "Regulations Pertaining to Section 8 of Chapter 636 of the Acts of 1974, Regarding Magnet School Facilities (Subsection 37I) and Magnet Educational Programs (Subsection 37J)," p. 1).

The act promotes metropolitan approaches by giving priority to magnet programs "which bring together students from urban and suburban settings, to provide them with racially integrated education experiences. Such programs may involve white and nonwhite students from urban schools, and white and nonwhite students from suburban schools" (The Regulations, p. 4). The incentives for the students are the attractive programs and paid transportation, while those for the school district include per pupil reimbursement up to a stipulated amount above the regular per pupil cost.

The above law grew out of awareness of the work of the Metropolitan Planning Project (MPP). Any group contemplating metropolitan-wide voluntary participation in the reduction of isolation would find much substance in the project's (1974) report, *Metro Ways to Understanding.* Operating as a collaborative of 17 metropolitan member school districts whose school committees enacted enabling policies, and with the approval of a total of 56 districts, the project developed a ten-year plan for the reduction of student isolation. Funding by the federal government from the Emergency School Aid Act of 1972 made possible a comprehensive involving and planning process.

The overall strategy of the MPP planning staff was (a) to involve a large cross-section of the total metropolitan community, (b) to plan learning environments and educational alternatives which held promise of reducing isolation and (c) to base recommendations upon planning research data. Citizens groups and numerous agency representatives were involved in a series of meetings to assess needs and state goals from which came ideas about ways of reducing isolation on a metropolitan scale. Citizens, agency personnel, teachers, students and administrators, individually and in groups, were invited to a charrette in which ideas could be translated into action programs (the best of which were to be funded); nearly 100 programs emerged. As a result of competitive judging, the project funded 13 of these as pilot programs.

The MPP planning staff incorporated the input from this process, along with the urban planning research data gathered, into four major interrelated programs. *Metropathways* is a program of attractive, alternative educational offerings located along major mass-transit routes of the metropolitan area. *Metropairways* involved the linking of two or more schools, at least one of which is located in the city and the other in the suburbs, and each organized to be a unique, appealing elementary site for students. The third is the *Metro Ethnic Heritage Resource Centers,* briefly described above. The fourth program is *Metro Center,* which coordinates the metropolitan programs and provides a "bank" of information and resources for students, parents, community groups and educators throughout the metropolitan area. This combination of incentive legislation and comprehensive planning offers an opportunity for the reduction of isolation of all students in the Boston metropolitan area by opening access to the numerous options described above.

A variation on this aspect of the MPP plan is expansion of the alternative school concept to an entire metropolitan area. Under voluntary conditions this would require enabling policies by participating school districts that through the use of promoting state legislation would considerably enhance the concept. Under the leadership of former superintendent Donald Waldrip, over 20 alternative programs have been developed within Cincinnati on 56 sites, attracting over 15,000 students, many of which cross into the city from the suburban districts. Although the alternative school program has not accomplished desegregation, it has had a considerable impact on reduction of isolation. In addition there is evidence that a wide variety of options benefit the students (Jennings & Nathan, 1977). If the alternative school programming were to be expanded to a metropolitan-wide basis, with attractive options throughout the region which were open to all students, one could imagine a sizable step in reducing isolation by voluntary means.

We have discussed examples of voluntary strategies enabled and promoted by legislation and board policy. In some metropolitan areas student contact has been required by mandate. These mandates fall into two categories. The first of these is the consolidation of jurisdictions in metropolitan areas into a single governmental unit by state legislative action. These actions have not been for the purpose of reducing ethnic isolation, but for political and economic reasons, among them, to increase governmental efficiency, broaden tax bases and extend services. School district consolidation has coincided with governmental consolidation.

In some instances limited consolidation has taken place through piecemeal annexations of bordering territory by cities. But a more metropolitan approach has been through county or area consolidation (see Simms, Chapter IV, for a more detailed analysis). Examples of the latter are the city-county units of Florida and the Nashville/Davidson County unit in Tennessee. In a sense the consolidation of Louisville and Jefferson County, Kentucky, may fall into this category, even though the consolidation came under a threat of court action to reduce isolation. It is not our intention to describe or evaluate such governmental options here as there is voluminous literature on the subject (McKelvey, 1973). Various schemes are also dealt with in Chapter IV; of special interest is Daniels' proposal for the Atlanta area.

Where the metropolitan governmental unit coincides with the school district boundary, desegregation orders have treated the education system as a single metropolitan district. The Tampa/Hillsborough County experience is an excellent example of a positive approach to area-wide desegregation in this regard (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1973, pp. 14-35).

The second mandatory category is consolidation ordered by a federal court to accomplish the constitutional requirements of desegregation. In this category, there are several alternative strategies:

- Combine the metropolitan area into one large school district.
- Divide the metropolitan area into several new districts, each with an ethnically balanced population sufficient for desegregation. This was the remedy accepted but never implemented by the federal district court in the ill-fated Detroit metropolitan case.
- Allow the present school district boundaries and existing governing structures to remain intact but provide for an overriding authority to bring about the required cross-district cooperation needed for desegregation. This strategy recognizes the growth of minority political power within central cities and the concern that a metropolitan-wide reorganization might diminish the effectiveness of that power.

Before a court orders any of these it should take into consideration comprehensive regional planning data along with an assessment of the political situations. By doing so it may reduce the possibility that its order might later prove to be counterproductive (see Manley, Chapter IV).

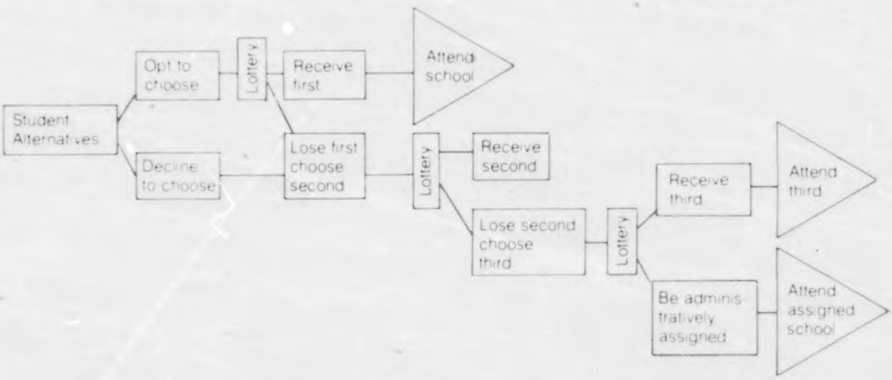
We suggest two additional approaches that might be taken with any of the optional strategies described above. For purposes of identification we term the first the *Milwaukee Adaptation* since it is our extension to a metropolitan scale of a plan developed by Milwaukee Superintendent of Schools, Lee R. McMurrin in cooperation with a community committee of 100 (Comprehensive Plan, 1976). The Milwaukee Adaptation combines voluntarism and choice on the part of students and parents with a mandatory back-up. The second we term the *Atlanta Link*, based upon a conceptualized but unimplemented proposal for the vast Atlanta metropolitan area. The Atlanta Link, while retaining existing district boundaries, provides for a system of "new neighborhoods" and the creation of an overriding authority for desegregation purposes. The organization draws from various desegregation experiences including the *Metropairways* described above.

The Milwaukee Adaptation. By court order the educational delivery system of a metropolitan area is divided into school zones. Each zone contains one-third or one-fourth of the schools in the entire area. It may be a unitary administrative district or an authority overriding existing districts. In each zone there is a consistent organization of the schools to include elementary, intermediate, high schools and special schools, with magnet schools at each level. In addition there are metropolitan-wide high school magnets.

Leagues of existing schools are formed within zones at each level, with a specific number of schools in each league so that when one league is paired, or the "associate" with another, the combined student population contains sufficient students to make desegregation possible.

Parents and students have a number of choices for attendance. If they reside within a league's attendance area they may choose attendance at a school within that league, or at one in an associated one. An additional choice is attendance at a zone or, if high school level, a metro-wide, magnet school. All schools are controlled as to ethnic balance so as to conform with constitutional requirements. Parents' and students' "picks" are processed by lottery: if the first choice is for a league-of-residence school but is not drawn, a second choice may be made, possibly of a school in an associated league or a magnet. If there are no further choices or if none of the choices are drawn, the district will make an assignment. As a further option, students are guaranteed a place in a school within their residential area for the time they spend in at least one of the three levels: elementary, intermediate or high school. Thus, there is considerable opportunity for voluntarism and for choice (see Figure 8), but there is also a mandatory back-up to assure compliance.

Figure 8.
Decreasing order of choice in Milwaukee Adaptation Plan.



The Atlanta Link. Elementary schools are organized into small, "extended neighborhood" groups of two, three or four (dyad, triad or quad) for instructional purposes. This provides a small indentifiable unit, a "new neighborhood," with which a parent and student can relate. At least one of the schools in a grouping is located in the central city; the others are usually in a single suburban district. The ethnic make-up of the student population of a grouping is such that it will meet the court's requirement for desegregation. The schools of a grouping are chosen so that necessary transportation between any two will not exceed 40 minutes.

For each dyad, triad or quad there is an instructional commission of parents. Each commission's membership is 50 percent minority and 50 percent majority to assure equality of status in the determination of the instructional options and in the organization of the school groupings. Each year one of the principals of the involved schools will serve as executive of the commission on a rotating basis. In addition, the principals of the schools will form a council of principals.

The commission receives recommendations from the staffs of the school regarding such matters as instructional program, student discipline, intergroup relations, extracurricular activities and evaluation within legal and general policy constraints, and proposes to the executive principal such changes or additions as it deems necessary. It may also make recommendations to the administration or school boards of the districts involved. The commission is advisory, yet all matters pertaining to the instructional program, including the budget, are submitted for its consideration. On the basis of the commission's recommendations the executive principal, working through the council, formulates plans of action.

It is a major responsibility of the commission in working with the executive principal to develop a detailed plan for the reduction of isolation within the dyad, triad or quad which it oversees. This plan observes the criteria set forth by the court for desegregation and contains incentives for educational quality.

To fulfill this responsibility a commission may choose from a number of educational designs provided or it may create its own programs. Priority is placed on providing incentives for parents and students to volunteer and on minimizing the negative feelings which may accompany desegregation. For example, each of the three schools of a triad may be established as minimagnets, having specialized programs in which all students would participate at some period during their elementary careers. One school may be a reading center, another an ethnic resource center, another a science and technology center. Another commission might choose to desegregate by grade structuring: all students at grades K-1 attending one school; all students of grades 2-3 attending another; and 4-5, the third. Possibilities are limited only by available resources and the creativity of the planners.

Groupings of dyads, triads or quads provide the attendance areas for intermediate schools. These, too, straddle city-suburb lines and are educationally administered by a council of principals, with a multiethnic advisory commission of parents. It is the responsibility of the administrative council with the help of the parent commission to determine the manner by which desegregation will be achieved. This may be facilitated by the development of attractive programs within regular schools, possibly modeled after the Dallas Academies for grades 7-8. Those academies have such offerings as career education, based upon the 15 categories of the U.S. Office of Education's *World of Work;* environmental education, which includes horticulture, zoology and conservation, using laboratory experiences; "classical" education, which is Latin and Greek; and anthropology (Dallas Independent School District).

For the high school level two programs are designed. First, there is an open transfer program which allows any student to attend any high school in the metropolitan area if, in doing so, the ethnic balance in both the leaving and receiving school is improved. Secondly, the high school curriculum is divided into two parts, one comprising minimum required courses for state-approved graduation, and the second involving a wide variety of electives. To qualify for a degree students must take approximately half their required courses in each part.

The first part is housed in regular high schools; the second is offered in magnet and alternative programs which are located at appropriate sites throughout the metropolitan area. High school students have the choice of attending any high school for their basic requirements, but they must choose a magnet or alternative school for their electives. While this arrangement may not lead to complete high school desegregation, the incentives and pressures lead in that direction.

The overriding metropolitan authority for the Atlanta Link consists of an administrative board made up of the superintendents of each of the metro districts, with the central city superintendent sitting as permanent chairman. It would be the responsibility of the board to reconcile administrative problems of an interdistrict nature and to recommend to the member school boards policies for facilitating interdistrict cooperation.

Ultimate responsibility would be placed upon the state education agency to develop administrative machinery to carry out the court's requirements for compliance as well as to modify and refine the administrative interactions as experience dictates. On the metropolitan level a special master serving as a monitor of the

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process would be empowered to arbitrate matters which could not be reconciled by the administrative board.

At first reading this plan might appear to be an administrative nightmare and it certainly could become one, if its administrators are more interested in preserving their power than in the education of children. But by decentralizing educational decisions to the principal's and the community level, with the central administrative structure assuming a facilitating and supporting role, a new dimension of decision making could evolve.

There are other designs which in combination with strategies such as those listed above have potential for reducing metropolitan isolation. The Houston "cluster" program, for example, has such possibilities (Houston Independent School District). In this program students are brought together from ethnically isolated schools to participate in four days of intensive contact with other students. One day of preparation precedes the four days, with one day of follow-up at the home schools. It is not a desegregation plan since it provides only for short-term contact among children of different ethnicity, but it has advantages in that large numbers of students may become involved with a minimum of trauma and expense. In a court-ordered metropolitan solution it might then be used as an initial stage of implementation of a full desegregation plan. For example, if the implementation phase is to take from three to five years, the cluster program might be a first-year exercise to help prepare for the more fully developed succeeding steps.

Another strategy which could be used in combination with any of the above is that of the "drop-off school," a type of alternative school designed as a convenience to working parents of preschool or elementary school parents. Such schools are located on primary transportation routes or near major employment centers so that parents may drop their children off on their way to work in the morning and pick them up in the afternoon after work.

Drop-off schools are in effect a combination of a regular school and a day-care center. Provision is usually made for breakfast for the early arrivals, and supervised play and learning activities keep children occupied before and after school.

Operating on a metropolitan basis, drop-off schools could contribute to the reduction of ethnic isolation, expand the options of working parents and help reduce public transportation needs. In Atlanta, for example, planners have suggested that school facilities along major arterials leading into the downtown business sectors and into suburban industrial sections be converted to drop-off schools. A portion of the spaces in each designated school would be reserved for residents of its attendance area, the rest for commuting children. Since most of the in-city schools are majority black (and underutilized), the children of white suburban commuters would improve their balance. Conversely, black children riding with their parents to suburban industrial and commercial centers could reduce current segregation at white suburban schools.

Strategies relating to compensation. It is not our intent to enter the current controversy as to whether or not the funds spent in Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Act since 1965 have been used successfully. Based upon differing value orientations both sides may be validly argued using the findings of the General Accounting Office report of 1974 regarding the effect of Title I reading programs. What we do believe is what all studies have shown — namely, that many students who have fallen behind because of poverty and stifling environmental factors have been helped by such efforts to "close the gap." Many others have been kept in school because of special programs. We also believe that negative environmental conditions of a large number of students have been so deep and pervasive that only long-term, intensive educational and environmental compensating efforts will provide them with abilities needed for equality of access. We are encouraged by the longitudinal studies of the early intervention of Head Start and Follow Through programs of the 1960's which have shown long-range benefits for the children involved (see Brown, 1977). Insofar as ethnic isolation is associated with such debilitating environmental conditions, compensatory action may be considered a force for the reduction of isolation.

There are many ways to approach compensation. We will mention but a few. First, there are federal programs, among which are the above-mentioned Title I, various food, lunch and milk programs, and Title III, Head Start and Follow Through. Local districts apply for compensatory funds through the state education agency. These agencies require advice from parents, agencies and nonpublic schools regarding their use.

In many states legislative provisions for compensation have been made, sometimes through the use of a student-weighting factor and sometimes by special compensatory funds. As an example of the latter the state of Washington made available Urban-Rural-Racial Disadvantaged (URRD) funds for compensatory programs in cities, on Indian reservations and in migrant worker areas; these were administered by the State Superintendent of Public Instruction upon advice of a statewide committee.

On the district level school boards often designate specific school populations as needing extra help, and weight general budget allotments in favor of such help to meet the application requirements for Title I or for state compensatory funds. Compensatory help is also given within individual schools and in classrooms by principals and teachers.

An indirect but innovative approach which has potential for compensation is that of the educational voucher. The goals of the voucher are choice and equity. Children are allotted vouchers to "purchase" education wherever they and their parents feel they may get the best educational deal. This supposedly would give poor children a chance to attend the "best" schools. There have been many problems with implementing the voucher idea, as the Alum Rock, California, experience has demonstrated. But it deserves further experimentation.

There are several criteria which should be used in designing compensatory programs. Foremost among these is that children should not be stigmatized by identification with such funds. There has been a tendency to utilize code words and labels, which have demeaning connotations, in such programs. According to Hilliard (1976) the terms "culturally deprived," "single-parent families," "educationally handicapped" and "inner city" have in many cases, "really represented a silent assault on millions of black, brown and poor children" (p. 22). He and others warn against mythologizing these children and call for teaching in terms of children's environments and experience, building upon successful practices rather than continually emphasizing deficits and failures.

Another guideline is that compensatory funds should be directed with sufficient concentration to make an impact on the target group or individuals. The most effective use of compensatory educational funds is in a systematic coordination with other agencies having other applicable funds. Social welfare agencies, the juvenile courts, the housing authorities, the recreation programs and other such subsystems of the metropolitan area should be interactive with school systems in providing a broad compensatory environment for school children. A careful study of guidelines for the use of federal and state compensatory programs will be helpful to planners as strategies are designed for metropolitan application of such funds. While a great deal of community involvement is desirable and required in planning the use of these funds, care should be taken to avoid community "control" battles within an area.

Strategies related to redistribution of decision-making authority. In developing educational strategies for metropolitan reduction of isolation it is important to keep in mind that everyone, adults as well as children, learns from the process. Learning how to make decisions which affect people from different cultural and ethnic backgrounds requires an equality of involvement in the process.

By equality we mean that minority and majority populations are as nearly balanced as possible in their representation in decision-making or advisory positions. Some will protest, stressing that as there are many more whites than minorities in the metropolitan area and that representation should be proportional. But a representation based on ratios will only assure that minorities remain minorities, and preclude the opportunity to learn to work together as equals. Without assurances of such equality it is increasingly doubtful that a minority group will be disposed to depart from the decision-making power base that it may have established in the city. Finally, a fundamental aspect of efforts to reduce student isolation is the need to establish a sense of equality in the minds of students. Since students learn largely from example the demonstration of equality by adults becomes a model for equal education treatment.

This approach should apply to planning teams as well. Boards which are elected to govern metropolitan programs should be equitably constituted, which may dictate district rather than at-large elections. The Supreme Court took cognizance of this fact in a recent case allowing affirmative gerrymandering which assumed a certain minority representation (*United Jewish Organizations of Williamsburgh, Inc. v. Carey*, 45 U.S.L.W. 4221 [Mar. 1, 1977]). Throughout the administrative ranks minority persons ought to hold significant decision-making authority, not merely "token" positions. Guidelines for establishing and governing the role of citizen's advisory committees should specify the need for this equity. In developing strategies, a group working on reduction of isolation which insists upon such equity from the start and keeps the pressures on for affirmative action throughout will set the stage for smooth transition. In instances where the court is involved, a judge's order providing for such equity will bolster this approach.

Strategies related to the equalization of fiscal resources. There are two levels of effort involved in equalization of fiscal resources. One is the individual level; we have described earlier how the availability of jobs for minority persons, their education and affirmative hiring action relate to the opening of access, redistribution of resources and reduction of isolation. Welfare payments and guaranteed income proposals are aimed at reducing income disparities of individuals, as are in-kind transfers of food, housing, medical care and child care (Alexander & Melcher, 1975). We have also described compensatory educational efforts which are based on the belief that investment in education and training will increase the human wealth of ability and therefore decrease disparities.

The other level of effort is toward reducing the inequities that exist among jurisdictions and specifically, the metropolitan school districts (see Simms, Chapter IV). Such inequities have been challenged in a number of court cases across the country. The questions may be raised: *Is the quality of education as represented in the diversity of offerings, the availability of learning resources, the salaries of teachers and the suitability of facilities a function of the wealth of a school district? If so, are there inequities in the wealth of the various districts in a metropolitan area?*

Any major effort at equalization of fiscal resources among metropolitan districts must come through state legislative action, motivated by the political process or by a court mandate. Discriptions of both kinds of efforts and the principles of equality used are found in numerous publications (Benson, 1975; N.E.F.B. 1971).

Metropolitan solutions will have to take into consideration the disparities which exist, within and between districts. Some of these are:

- Older buildings and higher maintenance costs in the inner city versus newer buildings and lower maintenance costs in the suburbs;
- Establishment of strong unions and higher salary and fringe benefit demands in the inner city;
- High concentration of lower-income persons in the inner city;
- High concentration of special learning needs in the inner city;
- Cultural and ethnic pluralism of the central city as compared with the cultural homogeneity of the suburbs;
- Declining enrollments in the inner city and the resultant facility and staffing problems;
- Predominance of older teachers who are usually higher on the salary schedule in the older sections of the metropolitan areas as compared with relatively new suburbs;
- High concentration of federal compensatory programs in areas which have a high density of low-income persons.

The complexity of dealing with such disparities makes it politically difficult to provide adequate formulization on the state level. In developing strategies for educational alternatives we suggest that where there has not been consolidation the state legislature consider legislating the creation of a metropolitan school finance authority, or authorizing the state board of education to do so. This metropolitan authority would be given the power to deal with matters of equity throughout the metropolitan area; its goals would be to approach the metropolitan area as an interdependent system, and to effect solutions whereby all residents would pay their full share of the costs of all services which they enjoy or demand, and all would have to deal with the problems of the total area.

Strategies related to equalizing status. This theme has been interwoven throughout. But it bears repeating that reduction of isolation requires building into the planning process strategies which move toward removing status barriers that are related to ethnicity. In education, instructional methods and materials, and the attitudes of teachers, principals, other administrators and parents contribute to creating a climate in which all ethnicities are equally important and all cultural and ethnic backgrounds are valued.

This is easier said than done. In recognition that prejudice is pervasive, the strategies must include intensive and ongoing human relations training for all staff members in the metropolitan area. Participation in these programs should be required; state certification ought to require training in human relations as a condition of teacher licensing. Judges should consider requiring such programs in their orders, as Judge Gordon did in the Louisville/Jefferson County desegregation case (*Newburg Area Council, Inc. v. Board of Education*, C.A. Nos. 7045 & 7291 [W.D. Ky. July 30, 1975]). In such programs the involvement of parents and students along with faculties ought to be requisite.

Overt and symbolic gestures, such as the outlawing of exclusionary clubs, cliques, fraternities and sororities, are needed. Pedagogical systems such as tracking are inappropriate and educationally unnecessary. The provision for equality in the numbers of majority and minority class officers, representatives and other positions of prestige will help pave the way to the time when ethnic consciousness will no longer be a concern. Multiethnic counseling teams should help minority students as well as white students prepare for and get into college, find and get into vocational training and obtain jobs.

Such plans will guarantee that policies such as discipline codes, suspension and grievance procedures are developed by parent-student and faculty groups that equally represent minority and majority populations, and that the enforcement of these policies will be equitable.

Strategies related to equality of access. Our definition calls for an equality of access into the educational possibilities of a metropolitan area. This means not only saying to students "you are free to make choices," but "we will help you make choices. We will help you get to your choices and either realize success or select other options." And, importantly, "we will all participate in expanding the descriptions of what is valued in the educational processes."

Therefore, the strategies for equality of access will include the elimination of such invalid hurdles as discriminatory tests and biased counseling, and provide for outreach through advertising and recruiting, for encouragement through counseling and for other forms of support, to ensure the fullest participation possible.

Of paramount concern in equal access is the assurance that there is no education discrimination which keeps minority students from obtaining adequate preparation in the skills needed for access into broader options. This places upon an education enterprise stringent requirements of accountability. Planned strategies should recognize this and describe such accountability in detail.

3.5 *Choose Among Optional Strategies*

Having formulated optional strategies the question arises: *Which strategy should be further developed and moved toward implementation?* Up to this point only those general aspects of and broad distinctions between options necessary to determine feasibility have been discussed; details have not been worked out. If computer resources are available some aspects may have been simulated, but it is unlikely that the capacity exists for including the entire metropolitan area. So the task at this juncture is to choose a strategy or strategies to implement.

An orderly method for selection will be based upon a decision process which considers all pertinent data. If there is a court order for desegregation, planning criteria are often detailed in the order and the options may be limited to or narrowed by compliance. Even under these circumstances there are usually a number of program possibilities that dictate the development of specific localized criteria. As an example, in the Milwaukee McMurrin-Community plan, "certain key aspects were identified in order to provide a criterion for the evaluation of concepts and recommendations" for implementation (Comprehensive Plan, 1976, pp. 23-24). These key aspects are provided below for reference:

GOALS

The overall goal of this plan is to provide quality education in the process of meeting the court-ordered requirements. At any stage in the development of the plan, it was recognized that the general goal statement above needed to be made more tangible and specific.

1 **Predictability**

There must be a logical order to events occurring as a result of the plan. Parents and students must know as much as possible what lies ahead of them — what their attendance area will be, what the feeder patterns will be, what the grade levels of their school will be, what the length of time they may remain in a school will be and what range of choices or alternatives they will have.

2 **Flexibility**

While events must be predictable, they must not be so inflexible as to ignore individual needs.

3 **Stability**

The plan must be designed in such a way as to maintain the present racial representation in the city. Stated negatively, the plan must not promote or encourage so-called "flight." Also, the familiar structures should be maintained to the degree possible so people's sense of identification is not undergoing constant adjustment.

4 **Acceptability**

No plan will be completely acceptable to all persons in the community. Nevertheless, the plan must be recognized by the public as a whole and by key individuals within the community, as the best possible plan given the circumstances. Part of the approach to gain acceptance, as well as key concepts and specific ideas, has been to work with the leagues, the Committee of 100 and various other groups in the development of the plan.

5 **Exhaust Potential of Voluntary Movement, Choice**

Last year's plan was based entirely on voluntary movement and the relieving of overcrowded schools. Even though this plan will need to include a back-up system of mandatory pupil assignment, opportunity must be given to people who wish to volunteer. Only after as many volunteers as possible have been satisfied will a mandatory assignment system be activated. There is, furthermore, between completely voluntary choice on one hand, and completely involuntary assignment on the other, a range of choices with varying degrees of acceptability. The plan must incorporate provision for this range of choices prior to the use of completely involuntary assignment.

6 **Equality of Opportunity/Burden**

When assignment of students becomes mandatory, movement is seen as a burden. The plan must distribute this burden proportionately between majority and minority students.

The converse of this aspect is equality of opportunity. Where movement is voluntary and choices can be honored, there must also be an equitable distribution of opportunities.

7 **Economy**

The plan must be as financially economical as possible, given the present constraints on the school system. In seeking financial economy, however, the needs for improved quality education must be considered in balance.

8 **Increase Quality and Variety of Education**

The concepts of quality and variety are intimately related — both are necessary, and neither one alone is sufficient. The plan must provide for a greater variety of educational opportunity, while at the same time increasing the present quality of program. Variety must not be increased at the expense of quality, nor is quality a sufficient requirement when not accompanied by a breadth of educational opportunities.

9 **Other Minorities Included**

At the present time, the court has included only blacks in its definition of minorities. The plan should provide for expansion of this definition to include all minorities, and thus make the remedies contained in the court's order available to every individual who happens to be a member of a minority group.

10 **Exceptional Education, Title I, Bilingual/Bicultural and Other Special Program Needs Blended**

The plan must recognize the existence of these programs and provide for their continuing functioning as an integral part of the entire school operation.

Where there is no court order, criteria may include political considerations, legislative possibilities and voluntary potentialities. Special attention should be given to financial and feasibility considerations that have a way of submerging under court order but which loom large in voluntary actions.

3.6 *Determine Administrative Aspects*

The next task is that of making the design workable. This is usually the job of the administrative unit that is to implement the plan and performed under the direction of its chief executive officer. In a school system, that officer is the superintendent. Heretofore the various options were evaluated for "feasibility," a term indicative of some judgmental latitude. This latitude must now be reduced to working specifications.

In a proposed school desegregation plan this will involve, among other tasks: identifying the students involved and assigning them; developing the most efficient routing in terms of time and distance; figuring the number and sizes of buses needed; designating the facilities to be used; detailing the staffing requirements and assignments; designing the curriculum and materials needed; specifying the staff training to be undertaken; putting together an information system; describing the details of ongoing citizen involvement in the implementation; and much more, including in each administrative planning category specific implementation objectives with suggested measures for accomplishment.

3.7 *Develop Budget*

The budget is the culmination of the administrative plan, representing the best judgment of the administrative planners as to what implementation might cost. The format may be "line item" so as to be compatible with the budgeting and accounting methods of the system or systems responsible for implementation or, preferably, it may be a program planning budget which shows the relationship of estimated costs to specific programs and the attainment of their objectives (Alioto & Jungherr, 1971). Or it might be presented in both formats.

Besides the estimated costs of the program, the budget contains the predicted sources of required revenues. In a metropolitan context the sources could be quite complicated. In most instances it is possible for financing to come from local general fund sources, state sources, various federal sources and even perhaps some private sources. An implementation program which relies heavily upon the predicted availability of "soft money" is likely to be insecure; it is advisable to establish the essence of the program on the foundation of reliable, general fund revenues.

4.0 Implementing

4.1 *Submit the Administrative Plan to the Decision-making Authority for Approval*

Some authority such as a governing board, court or legislative body must decide whether or not to implement. This decision may range from enabling to mandating. Whatever type of decision, the authority must be given sufficient time to become fully informed on all aspects of the plan. Usually, by the time the process reaches this point, a governing body will have become informed by the open process of identifying, involving and forming strategies. Under no circumstance should participants "spring" their plan on the authority, expecting immediate implementation.

4.2 *Make Needed Revisions*

After due consideration the decision-making authority will either approve or reject the plan as submitted, or direct that modifications be made. Planners and citizens must be prepared for rejection. Many school boards have balked at implementation of even modest voluntary plans for reduction of isolation. Nor have town and county councils been enthusiastic when faced with proposals for changing discriminatory zoning laws or code requirements. Such resistance often presses citizens to seek relief in the courts.

Revisions may be required as a result of bargaining parts of the plan with employee groups. Where collective bargaining has become part of the decision-making process in school districts, teacher unions usually refrain from official involvement in planning until the point at which a policy is to be enacted. Then, before the board makes its decision, the union's concerns must be heard and, if necessary, a bargained agreement signed. If the plan has been developed under federal court order, the court's decision on the matter will likely supercede any union agreements with a governing board.

Bargaining may be difficult, since teacher's unions are primarily concerned with the welfare of their members. Unions often publicly state their support of efforts to reduce isolation. Over the bargaining table, however, they may resist affirmative action in hiring, promotion and retention of minority personnel if such affirmative action threatens the coveted seniority system. They may push for suspension and discipline policies that result in discrimination against minority students. In addition, their efforts are sometimes directed at reducing the amount of time in which teachers are in contact with students, which in turn, according to research, are not conducive to achievement of children (U.S. Office of Education, 1976, p. 4).

However, elected governing boards ordinarily respond to strong constituent pressures. A planning process such as that described in Section 2.0, which builds a constituency from the beginning, may have generated enough support to assure approval by the time the plan is formally considered.

4.3 *Make Assignment of Responsibilities*

Once approval has been received from the governing body, the chief administrator will finalize preparations for implementation. Assignments of responsibility will be made. Every position will have a written job description which coincides with the plan's objectives, and personnel will be selected and assigned on the basis of their competency and because they reflect the ethnic balance in decision making.

The implementation effort is usually somewhat disruptive and always complex, a situation which requires that all personnel, especially those who give supportive service, help in a willing and positive way. Leadership is especially important at this time. Positive, reassuring statements and demeanor provide a sense of confidence to the community. Provision for regular communication, between the administrative leadership and the employees and between the public and the administrator before and during implementation will help ease anxiety.

4.4 *Conduct Program*

The first few days are critical ones. Even given the best possible planning there will be some confusion and unforeseen factors that will require immediate responses and adjustment. A communication system which provides quick response is important; but middle management personnel should also be given wide authority to deal with such problems themselves.

Where the plans are for reduction of school isolation, special attention given at the outset to matters regarding the safety and well-being of faculty and students will pay later dividends. Coordination with other agencies, especially the police departments, is of utmost importance. In a metropolitan effort to reduce isolation the involvement of a number of jurisdictions becomes necessary, further complicating such coordination. This was highlighted in the Louisville/Jefferson County desegregation process; the United States Commission on Civil Rights (1976b) attributed part of that community's disruption to the serious lack of coordination between the Jefferson County police force and that of the City of Louisville (p. 108). In contrast, prior to the Hillsborough County desegregation implementation, the City of Tampa police and the county force made cooperative contingency plans in coordination with the school officials and were able to present a united front in "maintaining lines of communication with students and avoiding a show of force in resolving confrontations" (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1976a, p. 58).

5.0 Evaluating

Evaluating means asking the question: *To what degree are we reaching our goals?* There are ordinarily two parts to evaluation. One is to determine the degree to which actual outcomes reach previously set goals, or "product evaluation." The other is to find out whether the ways in which we have gone about reaching goals are as effective as possible, a "process evaluation." The primary purpose of each of these parts is to feed back to participants findings which will help improve the process.

The group may evaluate itself as it proceeds, with the help of a facilitator who is a group member or an internal evaluation subcommittee formed for this purpose. Or an outside evaluator may be sought to monitor and feed back helpful observations and perceptions. An outsider is oftentimes able to see dimensions that are closed to participants by their absorption in the process.

We do not believe that an elaborate evaluative procedure is required in a search for reduction of isolation. For those who would like to pursue more sophisticated evaluative procedures we recommend Carol Weiss's (1972) book, *Evaluating Action Programs.*

In developing a procedure for evaluation of product, a review of the indicators of progress on page 13 is useful. Each is subject to some kind of measure. For each measure the evaluators will need to develop a system of identifying and compiling relevant data. Such an effort would be an excellent project for faculty and graduate students at a university. In Table 6 we suggest measures of progress toward goals of reducing isolation in a metropolitan area that may lend themselves either to research or to the construction of uncomplicated assessments.

A research-oriented evaluator may ask for proof that positive results by such measures as those suggested in Table 6 are in fact the consequences of the efforts made and not of other factors. That evaluator may wish to compare the findings with results obtained from a "control group" which was not impacted by the efforts; such a comparison would be an interesting research project for evaluators who have the resources to use sophisticated methods.

Table 6
Measures of Progress Toward Reduction of Isolation

Indicators	Measures
Knowledge	—Observer judgments —Achievement tests results —Attitude scales results
Contact	—Number of times contact is made —Number of persons involved (desegregation) —Length of time of contacts
Compensation	—Amounts of money applied —Number receiving compensatory help —Time spent in providing compensatory resources
Equalization of Decision Making	—Ratios of minority to majority persons in decision-making jobs —Ratios of minority to majority persons in governing bodies —Ratios of minorities to majorities on advisory committees
Equalization of Fiscal Resources	—Amount of reduction in disparity in expenditures among government units —Amount of reduction in disparities in personal income
Equalization of Status	—Ratio of minority to majority persons in positions of prestige at all levels in the metropolitan area —Ratio of minority to majority persons in clubs, fraternities, sororities, lodges, etc.
Equalization of Access	—Ratio of minority to majority persons entering educational institutions at each level —Ratio of minority to majority persons graduating from educational institutions at each level —Ratio of minority to majority persons employed —Ratio of minority to majority persons in occupations of various classifications —Ratio of minority to majority persons in unions, sports activities, cultural pursuits —Ratio of minority to majority persons residing in an area previously segregated majority or minority

But for a community group, evaluation may be a simple verification that a goal has been achieved. For example, if a group selected as a goal the passage of state legislation enabling students to cross school district boundaries for educational purposes and such legislation was passed, the goal has been achieved. There is no need for more elaborate measurement.

In many cases efforts to reduce isolation will aim at just such specific goals, the attainment of which can be described with reasonable clarity. These specific goals are small but significant steps in the long-term process and the achievement of each is a positive reinforcement for further and more extensive efforts.

Process evaluation relies more upon judgments and is done on a continuous basis. Using the example above, process evaluation would entail progressively assessing whether the ways in which the group goes about organizing, defining the need for enabling legislation, applying political pressure and agreeing to compromises in the legislature are the most effective possible in moving toward the ultimate (product) goal — the passage of positive legislation. Those doing this type of evaluation should continually feed back observations and data so that the implementors might have the bases upon which to change their pace or timing, apply different methods of political pressure, redefine objectives and otherwise improve performance.

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IV. Litigation, Proposed Solutions and Research on Desegregation

Metropolitan School Desegregation Litigation: Issues and Experience — Robert E. Manley

For a court to order the desegregation of one portion of a metropolitan area can *under certain circumstances* be an effective means to transfer the desegregated portion of the metropolitan area into a reserve for low-income blacks (Orfield, 1975). Increasingly, there has been a concern that to desegregate on anything other than a metropolitan basis is impossible (see *United States v. School Comm'rs,* 332 F.Supp. 655, 678, 1971). On the other hand, there is a growing belief among black leaders that the way to correct the evils of past segregation is to accept the fact that the central city is going to have all-black schools and to focus energies and resources on improving the quality of education in those schools (Bell, 1976, p. 470). This paper has the foregoing two competing approaches as its backdrop. It will focus upon four main issues.

First, it is necessary to review some basic notions about the role of the courts, including their limitations; second, notwithstanding recent setbacks in metropolitan desegregation, there has been a considerable body of experience in this area which deserves careful examination (Smith, 1976, p. 187). Third, certain areas require attention in the future if public policies regarding metropolitan desegregation are to be both reasonable and widely accepted. One is the current schizophrenic characteristic of public policy toward desegregation: despite *Brown* (347 U.S. 483, 1954) innumerable public policies still actually promote racial isolation, some even as a result of their efforts to reduce it. Another area is the approach presently being pursued in some districts of developing strategies which interrelate desegregation orders with an improvement in instructional quality. The fourth area of discussion is the relatively unexplored area of the responsibility of litigants in school desegregation cases to fashion and pursue the litigation in such a way that it will actually reduce isolation rather than intensify it.

The Role of the Courts

One issue at stake in the basic conflict described in the introduction is the nature of the judicial process. The question is whether the courts are to be guided by principles of constitutional law for the determination of segregation issues or whether they are merely political tools of any group powerful enough to use them for their political objectives (Laskey, 1949).

If there are neutral principles of constitutional law, one of these must be that any government action which promotes discrimination on the basis of race is unconstitutional, whether it is present within a single school district or throughout a metropolitan area. Recently, some black leaders have rejected the political desirability of metropolitan approaches to desegregation because of the resulting reduction of concentrations of black political power in central cities. But to reject metropolitan approaches because they may reduce political power is to deny that there are such things as neutral principles of constitutional law, and to support Laskey's suggestion that the courts are nothing more than a means for pressure groups in society to exercise their political power.

The courts are not in business to promote political and social causes; their job is to terminate controversies by a peaceful decision-making process that involves the application of the law to facts. In the area of desegregation the law is relatively simple, but the fact patterns are extremely complex. This is one reason that courts have struggled for such a long time without the establishment of clear guidelines (Craven, 1970, p. 1).

Before the courts have any authority to act, they must make positive determinations that the constitutional rights of persons involved in the litigation have been violated (*Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg*, 402 U.S. 1, 1971). A seeming shift in the standards for making this determination is the basis for some current concern. But the recent opinions by the Supreme Court based on *Washington v. Davis* (96 S.C. 2040, 1976) reconfirm the belief of many lawyers that some showing of an intent to segregate must be made.

While the rights of real persons must be found by specific standards to have been violated before the courts have power to act, the courts do then have the ability to shape broad constitutional policies when they formulate remedies, including those to eliminate school segregation. Nonetheless, this ability should not be broad enough to vacillate from one inconsistent position to another based upon judicial perception of what black leaders believe will advance or retard the advancement of their race up the ladder of economic mobility.

Legal Experience With Metropolitan School Desegregation

There has been a surprising amount of experience with the application of school desegregation orders on a metropolitan basis. In some parts of the South, the legal framework for metropolitan desegregation was established long before the *Brown* decision. Florida, for example, has long had county-wide school systems; thus, an order to desegregate Tampa, Florida, was in fact an order for metropolitan desegregation. It is worthy of note that white or middle-class flight has not been a characteristic of the Tampa experience.

Particularly in areas where the school district encompasses a predominantly black central city and white flight is convenient, litigants have looked to metropolitan solutions. Whether or not the vast amount of public effort devoted to school desegregation litigation since *Brown* is going to be written off, like Prohibition, as another folly, may depend upon whether or not the courts are successful in fashioning metropolitan approaches to desegregation. If courts do not devise workable methods for metropolitan desegregation, historians may not conclude that the school desegregation litigation caused central cities to become predominantly black, but they most certainly will conclude that the school desegregation cases accelerated tendencies toward middle-class flight from central cities.

An analysis of the potential of metropolitan litigation for reducing isolation will be made on the basis of recent experiences in Detroit, Michigan; Indianapolis, Indiana; St. Louis County, Missouri; Louisville, Kentucky; and Wilmington, Delaware.

Detroit

The Detroit school desegregation litigation was prompted by an action of the Michigan legislature rescinding a voluntary desegregation plan of the Detroit Board of Education. In considering the constitutionality of the legislature's action, the Court of Appeals in *Bradley v. Milliken* (433 F.2d 897, 1970) stated:

> State action in any form whether by statute, act of executive department of a state or a local government, or otherwise, will not be permitted to impede, delay, or frustrate proceedings to protect the rights guaranteed to members of all races under the Fourteenth Amendment. (p. 902)

The court then described the effect of the state legislation in question as having "thwarted, or at least delayed," the Detroit Board of Education's "affirmative steps on its own initiative to effect an improved racial balance" (433 F.2d 904, 1970) and held the statute unconstitutional.

On remand the District Court found the Detroit public schools to be racially segregated (338 F.Supp. 582, 1971). In making this determination the court discussed state action of both the board of education and the state itself that had segregatory effects on the schools. It also examined patterns of residential isolation and found them to be the result, at least in part, of discriminatory action and policies of both governmental and private agencies.

State action found to have isolating effects included: a refusal of the state to provide funds for necessary busing within the City of Detroit, although it provided suburban districts with state-supported transportation; and the state legislature's act to delay even voluntary school desegregation, which had originally triggered the lawsuit.

The District Court noted that it had ". . . taken no proofs with respect to the establishment of the boundaries (of surrounding school districts), nor on the issue of whether . . . such school districts have committed acts of *de jure* segregation" (345 F.Supp. 920, 1972). Yet it called for a metropolitan plan, justifying its unprecedented action on several bases, including the findings that district lines were already being ignored in the provision of special education; metropolitan problem solving existed in other areas such as transportation, recreation, and water and sewage; and school district boundary lines were not "rationally related to any legitimate purpose" (345 F.Supp. 935, 1972).

The Court of Appeals then held that actions of the State of Michigan and its instrumentalities were violative of the Constitution and could justify an interdistrict remedy. It also held, however, that due process required that the school districts who might be affected by a metropolitan plan be treated as necessary parties under Rule 19. The case was remanded for formulation of an effective desegregation plan.

The Supreme Court, in *Milliken v. Bradley* (418 U.S., 1974) reversed the decisions of the lower courts and remanded for implementation of a Detroit-only plan due to their finding that the lower courts had not justified the metropolitan plan on any constitutional violations on the part of the surrounding school districts.

On remand, the District Court ordered implementation of a Detroit-only desegregation plan, which was to eliminate racially identifiable white schools in the city system and upgrade the Detroit school system through the use of certain enrichment programs. Meanwhile, plaintiffs to the original suit sought to establish that the outlying districts had committed constitutional violations which had had interdistrict effect by bringing a new suit against the 78 school districts in the tri-county metropolitan Detroit area. This case may continue through the courts for years; its ultimate outcome will depend upon whether or not action, by suburban districts or by the state or its subdivisions, promoting segregation of the Detroit public schools can be shown.

Indianapolis

This action, also brought by the United States, was against the Board of School Commissioners of Indianapolis, alleging racial discrimination in the assignment of students and faculty within the Indianapolis public schools.

In the student portion of the case, *United States v. Board of School Commissioners of Indianapolis* (332 F.Supp. 655, 1971), the U. S. District Court found that after *Brown*, the Board had promoted pupil segregation through a variety of means including school construction, pupil transportation and the drawing of attendance zones.

As an indication of the board's unwillingness to move voluntarily towards a reduction of isolation, the court outlined steps taken by the board after it was informed by the United States of the pending lawsuit. These included the rejection of four desegregation plans proposed by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare; the proposed construction of a middle school in a predominantly black neighborhood; the limitation of a majority to minority transfer plan to a space-only basis; and the rejection of the recommendations on desegregation developed by various board-appointed advisory committees.

The court also considered other causes of segregation in the Indianapolis public schools, including city and county governmental actions. But it focused mainly on certain actions of the Indiana legislature, particularly those in 1969 which simultaneously abolished the traditional coterminous relationships of city and school district boundaries and expanded the city boundaries of Indianapolis to encompass all of Marion County. The court found the effect of these actions was accelerated white flight from the school district and increased isolation.

The trial court distinguished the Indiana situation from that in the Richmond case, noting that in Indiana public education is a state responsibility, not a county option as in Virginia. Although it found no evidence that any of the defendant suburban school corporations had committed any acts of *de jure* segregation, the court noted that they did unanimously oppose a countywide reorganization plan recommended in 1959. This opposition resulted in the freezing of school district lines in Marion County while the number of school districts statewide was reduced by 50 percent, and effectively confined Indianapolis school district to its existing territory, thereby making meaningful desegregation virtually impossible.

Based on the above findings, the U.S. District Court ordered metropolitan relief. The U.S. Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals, applying *Milliken,* reversed in the absence of showing that the outlying districts had contributed to segregation in the Indianapolis district. The U.S. District Court on remand held another evidentiary hearing and found that suburban governmental units had actively resisted school consolidation, thereby contributing to racial isolation in the Indianapolis city school district. Based on these findings, the trial court ordered an interdistrict remedy involving the transfer of black students to suburban schools. On appeal, the U.S. Seventh Circuit this time affirmed the U.S. District Court's decision and remedy. However, the U.S. Supreme Court summarily vacated the Circuit Court's judgment, directing further consideration in light of two recent rulings by the court on the kind of proof necessary to demonstrate a constitutional violation in racial discrimination cases.

Louisville

This case involved two school desegregation actions which were consolidated on appeal to the U.S. Sixth Circuit: *Newburg Area Council, Inc. v. Board of Education of Jefferson County, Kentucky,* and *Haycraft v. Board of Education of Louisville, Kentucky* (541 F.2d 538, 1976). The U.S. Court of Appeals found interdistrict violation and ordered formulation of a desegregation plan encompassing all of Jefferson County. The U.S. Supreme Court remanded for reconsideration in light of *Milliken v. Bradley* (418 U.S. 717, 1974).

On remand the U.S. Court of Appeals carefully distinguished the Louisville case from *Milliken,* considering several factors:

1. There was evidence that both districts had committed acts of segregation.
2. Kentucky's educational unit was the county; by statute, school district lines were considered artificial (Kentucky Revised Statutes §160.048(1)).
3. Kentucky had a statute providing for consolidation of school districts (Kentucky Revised Statutes §160.041).
4. The Louisville school district boundaries were not coterminous with the political boundaries of the city.

Thus, the U.S. Court of Appeals concluded that an interdistrict remedy in the Louisville case would not be "broader than the constitutional violation" (510 F.2d 1361, 1974).

The Louisville case provides an important test against the *Milliken* standards. However, it ceased to be a multidistrict case when the Louisville Board of Education voted to dissolve itself, and its territory fell automatically under the jurisdiction of the Jefferson County School District. While it is probable that the courts would have implemented an interdistrict remedy had the Louisville board not disbanded, this is one situation in which litigation precipitated administrative action eliminating artificial barriers to the reduction of isolation.

St. Louis

This action was instituted by the United States and involved three school districts. The United States contended that the State of Missouri and its instrumentalities had participated in the creation and maintenance of the Kinloch district as an all-black school district, which had the effect of denying equal educational opportunities to that school district's students.

The U.S. District Court found violation of the Fourteenth Amendment permanently enjoined defendants from further discrimination and ordered the submission of reorganization plans to eliminate the dual school system in St. Louis County. Using the tests laid down in *Milliken v. Bradley* (418 U.S. 717, 1974) to confirm the appropriateness of interdistrict relief, the court found that both state action and specific acts of neighboring districts had maintained the Kinloch district as all-black. The court also distinguished *United States v. State of Missouri* (388 F.Supp. 1053, 1975) from *Milliken* in terms of the small number of districts involved.

Having met the *Milliken* standard for the interdistrict relief it was proposing, the district court ordered a metropolitan plan, including an area-wide tax assessment to finance the plan. On appeal the U.S. Eighth Circuit affirmed the multidistrict plan, modifying that portion dealing with the tax levy to give "deference to the (lower assessment) plan submitted in good faith by the State and county officials" (515 F.2d 1373, 1975).

Wilmington

The case of *Evans v. Buchanan* (379 F.Supp. 1218, 1974) was a class action brought by a group of black school children and their parents, with the Wilmington Board of Education as intervening plaintiff, against the Delaware State Board of Education and the Superintendent of Public Instruction of Delaware. Plantiffs contended that the State of Delaware was maintaining a dual system in New Castle County. A provision of the Educational Advancement Act of 1968 (14 Del.C. §§1001 et seq.), which allowed reorganization of all school districts except Wilmington, was offered as the primary example of unconstitutional state action.

The U.S. District Court found that the state had broad responsibility for public education including post-*Brown* school desegregation. More than half the schools in Wilmington had student bodies more than 89 percent of one race or the other. Citing *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg:* "(t)he presence of racially identifiable schools in a formerly *de jure* system is always constitutionally suspect" (379 F.Supp. 1218, 1223, 1974), the court concluded that the dual education system had never been effectively eliminated in Wilmington. Because of this determination the court found it unnecessary to consider the constitutionality of the Educational Advancement Act.

Although the court said it was premature to decide whether a metropolitan plan was necessary to effectively desegregate the Wilmington schools, the State Board of Education was ordered to submit alternative desegregation plans, one affecting Wilmington only and the other all of New Castle County. Before plans were submitted, the U.S. Supreme Court handed down a decision in *Milliken v. Bradley;* in light of this decision the U.S. District Court in *Evans v. Buchanan* held that consideration of interdistrict relief would be appropriate.

The court acknowledged the procedural impact of *Milliken* regarding the right of school districts which might possibly be included in an interdistrict plan to present evidence; the court gave such opportunity to the suburban districts in New Castle County, all of which intervened.

Oral argument was heard regarding *Milliken's* impact on the Wilmington case. The court restated the standard set out in *Milliken*, that interdistrict relief could be ordered:

> only upon findings either that school districts in New Castle County are not meaningfully separate and autonomous, or that there have been racially discriminatory acts of the state or of local school districts causing interdistrict segregation (393 F.Supp. 432, 1975).

Evidence found to support this test included a history of interdistrict school busing, in some cases to maintain segregation, and both state and local action contributing to racially segregated housing patterns. The court further found that portions of the Educational Advancement Act, which was racially neutral on its face, were unconstitutional and "played a significant part in maintaining the racial identifiability of Wilmington and the suburban . . . districts" (393 F.Supp. 445, 1975).

The facts of the Wilmington case were then distinguished from those in *Milliken:* interdistrict remedy was far more feasible in New Castle County because of the smaller number of students and districts involved; there was a previous history of interdistrict attendance in the Wilmington area; because of the sparse population in suburban New Castle County districts, a metropolitan plan would be desirable for educationally sound reasons; and finally, the voucher system used by the state to fund then-existing interdistrict programs would easily accommodate an interdistrict desegregation plan.

The U.S. Supreme Court affirmed *Buchanan v. Evans* (96 S.Ct. 381, 1976) and on remand the U.S. District Court ordered interdistrict relief implemented. An appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court challenging the basis for interdistrict remedy was subsequently dismissed. At the time of this writing, the U.S. Third Circuit Court of Appeals is about to consider a second appeal on the scope of the remedy in light of recent Supreme Court actions.

Shaping Future Litigation

Issues

Since the *Brown* decision (347 U.S. 483, 1954), state action to segregate students in schools has been a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. One significant problem at present is confusion over the definition of segregation. At the time of the decision, there was widespread belief that the meaning of segregation was understood. It was basically a *de jure* definition: 17 southern states and the District of Columbia required segregation by law. Since then, however, there has been an evolutionary expansion of the concept of segregation: from racial gerrymandering of attendance zone lines in the North (Kaplan, 1963, p. 1) to northern school board failures to anticipate and counteract population movements of blacks under their jurisdiction (Herbst, 1973, p. 59), and finally, to state action in a metropolitan area which causes segregation in more than one school district. This last shift in definition to a multidistrict area will inevitably expose to judicial examination a wider variety of state action to be tested against the public standard prohibiting discrimination on the basis of race.

In addition to the uncertainties caused by changing definitions and shifting standards, there has been considerable conflict between court-mandated actions against school segregation and great bodies of public law at national, state and local levels that have promoted the separation of people on the basis of race. These actions have been described in more detail in Chapter III and include such diverse examples as: the use of urban renewal and public housing programs in such a way as to constitute public encouragement for the development of black neighborhoods (Fiss, 1965, p. 585) and, consequently, black schools (Taeuber & Taeuber, 1965, pp. 29-34); the use of zoning either to exclude or to attract low-income people in particular neighborhoods; and the increasing emphasis on competitive examinations, degrees, certification and other paper qualifications, despite the fact that such measuring mechanisms have been found to discriminate against minorities and are often irrevelant to the jobs sought (Hunt, 1975, p. 690).

Mr. Justice Stewart, in his concurring opinion in the Detroit decision, emphasized that state action could lead to the necessity for a metropolitan interdistrict school desegregation remedy:

> Were it to be shown, for example, that state officials had contributed to the separation of races by drawing or redrawing school districts . . . by transfer of school units between districts . . . or by purposeful, racially discriminatory use of state housing or zoning laws, then a decree calling for transfer of pupils across district lines or for restructuring of district lines might be appropriate (*Bradley v. Milliken,* 418 U.S. 755, 1974).

The more metropolitan litigation is pursued, the more the effects of the public schizophrenia on desegregation as a foundation for metropolitan remedies will be revealed.

A third issue is the extent to which the courts should or can be instrumental for educational reform. Although judges may allow and even encourage elements of educational reform in proposed remedies, the constitutional mandate is for desegregation, not reform. Even if individual elements or reform are woven into the remedy, constitutional litigation may be an impractical vehicle for such change as reform has historically required extensive use of trial and error, experiment, feedback and readjustment of the experiment (Freund, 1964, p. 199).

A fourth and vital issue is the nature of the long-range impact of a court order. When a court orders racial balance in a particular school district, the execution of the order brings forth or accelerates many dynamic tendencies in the way in which various socioeconomic systems of a whole metropolitan area function (Orfield, 1975). Thus, a court can order racial balance in such a way that the result will be intensified racial isolation (332 F.Supp. 655, 1971).

The actions which take place in an urban system when one factor is dramatically altered are sometimes foreseeable, and sometimes not. To the extent that the actions within the urban system can be projected, provision should be made in the design of a desegregation plan so that a desegregation order does not defeat its purpose. To the extent that the reactions within the urban system are unforeseeable, there must be provision in the design of any plan for feedback and readjustment (349 U.S. 294, 300-301, 1955). The courts have recently been limited in this respect by the *Pasadena* case (96 S.Ct. 2697, 1976) in which the U.S. Supreme Court held that a federal court loses jurisdiction over a desegregating school system once a "unitary system" is established. Although there has been no subsequent test of *Pasadena*, a court could presumably reacquire jurisdiction if it could be shown that state action had destroyed the unitary system in the interim. One example of a foreseeable reaction is the phenomenon of middle-class flight as a result of a court order desegregating only a portion of a system or a metropolitan area. It is the desire to minimize flight, which intensifies racial isolation, that has made some litigants and courts interested in metropolitan approaches.

A desegregation plan that maximizes change by the use of coercion is also more likely to produce a dynamic reaction that will intensify racial isolation than a system that uses the maximum amount of choice consistent with the desegregation goals (Orfield, 1975). This is not to suggest that a freedom of choice plan without back-up is desirable. It is to suggest that there are ways to organize and deliver education that will accomplish desegregation without the use of the maximum possible coercion (Manley, 1974, p. 337).

Another predictable equation in urban dynamics is that as long as there is widespread belief that desegregation can be avoided, there is an incentive for opposition to desegregation. Dynamic reaction in the form of peaceful demonstrations may provide a healthy release for pent-up aggression, but other forms of opposition that obstruct education or jeopardize the safety of children will accelerate the middle-class withdrawal from the desegregated situation and cultivate more racial isolation. Any plan of desegregation must, then, include a plan for educating the community-at-large to the inevitability that implementation will be swift, fair, safe and efficient.

The issue of equity must be dealt with as part of this educating process. Dynamic counterreactions will be stimulated if the plan is perceived as being inherently unfair. The maximum use of coercion converts a desegregation plan from a vindication of the constitutional rights of black children into a punitive measure against whites in the system. Conversely, desegregation achieved solely by the efforts and inconvenience of black families and children may intensify isolation defined as "unequal status" and "inequity." For a plan to be perceived as being fair, it should have the maximum amount of choice; be presented as a clearly inevitable action; distribute to the extent possible, any burden equally among blacks and whites; and hold some promise of expanding the educational opportunities for all students, irrespective of their race.

None of the qualities described as tending to reduce dynamic counterreactions is likely to be present unless the plan is designed with a clear and definite identification of the parameters within which action is possible. This seemingly elementary proposition has only recently been recognized (*Milliken v. Bradley*, 418 U.S. 717, 1974). Although some courts are for the first time asking the right questions about these parameters, satisfactory answers will have to be worked out in many pending and future cases.

Responsibility of Litigants

Recently the question has been raised as to whether or not federal litigation, which decides important applications of public constitutional and federal policies, can be left solely to the management of the litigants, in the same manner that has been traditional in other private litigation (Chayes, 1976, p. 1310). There is no area of litigation that more clearly dramatizes the importance of this question than school desegregation litigation. *Pasadena v. Spangler* (96 S.Ct. 2697, 1976) might have produced a different result under the same law stated in the case, if plaintiffs had proved that the racial isolation which arose after the unitary system was achieved had in fact been caused by the actions of the defendants in attempting to achieve that unitary system. In other words, defendants may have clearly foreseen that their design of or methods for implementing the Pasadena plan were going to reproduce racial isolation. But plaintiffs did not make such a showing.

The issue of metropolitan remedy may be the best illustration of this problem of litigant responsibility. When a central city school district is sued for discrimination on the basis of race in assignment of teachers and pupils, its counsel often recognizes the possibility that the district may lose the suit, and that the city-school-district-only desegregation order likely to be issued will probably intensify racial isolation. Under these circumstances, a number of questions arise. Have the neighboring districts engaged in conduct that has promoted the segregation of students in the several school districts of the metropolitan area? Has the state or any of its subdivisions set policy or acted in such a way as to have caused or maintained racial segregation among the metropolitan area school districts? If either of the foregoing two questions is answered affirmatively, does the central city school board thereby acquire a duty to file a third-party complaint naming the state and the neighboring suburban school districts as codefendants? Would the failure to execute this duty constitute an affirmative act of segregation on the part of the central city school board? Would the refusal by a central city school board to request the joining of the state and the suburban districts still be a violation of the constitutional rights of black students if that board were majority black and saw metropolitan integration as an assault upon the political power of blacks in the central city? Would the refusal of the central city school board to pursue metropolitan relief because of political or social ties with white suburbanites be more reprehensible?

The same questions could and should be asked with respect to plaintiffs in a school desegregation suit who recognize that the remedies they seek in one portion of a metropolitan area may in fact intensify racial isolation. Is this an attempt by plaintiffs to use the color of law to intensify segregation in a metropolitan area (42 U.S.C.§1983), thereby solidifying their power base? If it is, could action be taken in damages or injunction against those plaintiffs who attempt to manipulate federal courts in this way? There is a well-established notion that a plaintiff who comes to court for an equitable relief without "clean hands" should be denied his injunction; would that notion apply in the above-described circumstances? (Pomeroy, 1941, §§397-404) A central city school board which initiates litigation to bring about metropolitan desegregation and then, for political reasons, abandons its efforts should be questioned similarly.

The recent emphasis on the parameters of what is possible in school desegregation litigation makes it clearer than ever before that it may not be safe to trust the management of such litigation to the parties. The courts may have to evolve new approaches to the management of school desegregation and perhaps other forms of constitutional litigation; these new approaches could take a variety of forms. For example, it may be necessary to develop a system whereby damages will be assessed or injunctions granted or denied in such a way as to reinforce litigation management that will, in fact, promote desegregation rather than racial isolation. Judges may have to assert a more active role in the management of the litigation as in determining that a case shall not proceed unless necessary state or suburban parties are joined (Rule 19, Federal Rules of Civil Procedure), or insisting that important areas of evidence neglected by the parties be investigated and presented.

It may eventually become apparent that courts need to appoint an *amicus curiae* (Chayes, 1976, p. 1312) that would act in the nature of a public defender of the cause of desegregated public schools. This necessity may be especially important when counsel for the plaintiff or counsel for the defense have acquired such emotional commitment to their respective sides of the case that they may allow their zeal to distort their analytical powers (Manley, 1976).

The metropolitan question raises an ever-expanding cluster of responsibilities and problems for parties and judges involved in school desegregation and other constitutional litigation. Unless these are recognized, accepted and effectively handled, public policy and actions to reduce isolation may be further thwarted by the dynamics of inartfully planned desegregation actions interacting with complex forces in the urban, social, economic and political systems of the metropolitan area.

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Pursuing Metropolitan Desegregation in the Courts

Donal M. Sacken

If efforts to reduce isolation in the schools through voluntary, cooperative means are insufficient, the necessary alternative may be to initiate litigation seeking to compel a metropolitan remedy. In pursuing this alternative, each metropolitan area must be evaluated individually to ascertain the probability of obtaining a successful legal remedy for segregation in the public schools. Certain guidelines that have evolved from previous litigation serve as yardsticks against which potential litigants can measure the situation in their own community. However, what follows can be merely a resource primer on how to begin accumulating information which may be useful in deciding whether to institute litigation.

The goal of school desegregation litigation has been to eradicate segregation existing in public educational facilities as a result of the actions of state or local governmental officials. Since the Supreme Court concluded that "separated educational facilities are inherently unequal" (*Brown v. Board of Education*, 347 U.S. 483, 1954), state action which creates or perpetuates school segregation violates the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Most desegregation suits are now filed under Section 1983 to Title 42 of the United States Code, which is a part of the Civil Rights Act of 1971, passed by the U.S. Congress to create a cause of action for violations by the state of constitutional and other federally created rights. Suits arising under the Fourteenth Amendment or Section 1983 may be instituted in a federal district court for the judicial district in which the school system is located.

Standing

Plaintiffs in school desegregation suits have typically been children and parents residing in the affected school district. These individuals have an obvious interest in the outcome of the litigation, thus satisfying criteria for standing in federal courts. Standing is basically the requirement that the party bringing a suit have some stake or interest in its resolution. School desegregation suits can be structured as class actions, a procedural mechanism permitting a plaintiff or group of plaintiffs to litigate claims on behalf of other individuals similarly affected by the challenged practices or policies. Thus, any judicial determination in a class action suit would resolve the litigated issues with respect to all members of the predetermined class. The plaintiff parents and children in a school desegregation suit can represent the interests of all other similarly situated parents and children in the school district or districts.

However, it is not crucial that desegregation suits be conducted as a class action, because of the nature of relief sought (either an order requiring a specific change in school district policies or practices, or enjoining further operation under certain policies or practices). A court order granting the plaintiffs' requests will have the effect of changing the policy or practice throughout the area affected by the remedial order, thus effectively extending relief to all similarly situated potential plaintiffs.

Evidence Requirements

We have 23 years of accumulated litigation in school desegregation, but the concept of interdistrict remedies is relatively new. Exactly what evidence the U.S. Supreme Court considers sufficient to justify an interdistrict remedy remains unclear. The Supreme Court has written only one opinion in a case requesting an interdistrict plan (*Milliken v. Bradley*, 418 U.S. 717, 1974). On that occasion, a sharply divided court reversed a U.S. Circuit Court-approved interdistrict plan which involved the city district of Detroit and 53 suburban districts. However, the Supreme Court did refer to the possibility of interdistrict remedies:

> An interdistrict remedy might be in order where the racially discriminatory acts of one or more school districts caused racial segregation in an adjacent district, or where district lines have been deliberately drawn on the basis of race (418 U.S. at 745).

In *Milliken*, the Supreme Court found no sufficient evidence of purposeful racially discriminatory acts by the suburban districts. Absent suburban districts' involvement, it would not permit the remedy to expand to an interdistrict plan. For individuals interested in demanding a remedy which includes the surrounding suburban districts, *Milliken* creates the substantial impediment of requiring evidence that the suburban districts' actions have contributed to the racial isolation within the urban district. One example of such evidence might be a practice of transferring black students from the suburban districts into the city schools to maintain racial segregation.

Another requirement for successful metropolitan litigation has become increasingly evident in several recent Supreme Court decisions. Beginning with *Washington v. Davis* (96 S.Ct. 2040, 1976), a decision involving an employment test that had racially disproportionate impact, the U.S. Supreme Court has emphasized that plaintiffs must demonstrate a racially discriminatory *intent* or purpose behind official acts that may contribute to or create segregation. While the intent requirement has been an evidentiary element of all northern school desegregation cases (*Keyes v. School District No 1*, 413 U.S. 189, 1973), it applies with special harshness in interdistrict cases, apparently requiring the inclusion of evidence of deliberate actions by each suburban district that increased segregation in the urban schools. Further, the renewal of the intent doctrine has diminished the plaintiff's ability to rely on an inference of intent arising from official acts having disproportionate racial impact.

After *Griggs v. Duke Power Co.* (401 U.S. 414, 1971) and *Wright v. Council of the City of Emporia* (407 U.S. 451, 1972), it appeared that evidence of racially disproportionate effects from official actions shifted to the defendant a heavy burden of proving the compelling necessity of those actions. Now, while segregative intent still can be judicially inferred from evidence other than blatant statements of discriminatory purpose, the Supreme Court appears to be raising the evidentiary standard necessary to create this inference of intent.

The Supreme Court has already vacated two circuit court decisions imposing school desegregation plans in light of the *Davis* decision. The total impact of *Davis* cannot yet be estimated, but it creates additional pressure to gather the best, most explicit and perhaps most extensive evidence of administrative and executive decisions that create or perpetuate racial segregation in public schools. For metropolitan suits, the intent requirement may now require evidence of coordinated, mutually adopted programs or activities between or among several districts that racially impact the districts.

Compiling the Evidence

The crucial process of compiling evidence to support a multidistrict desegregation suit is a lengthy and expensive proposition. Obviously, the strategy for searching out the necessary evidence should be developed and pursued in coordination with the attorneys who will handle presentation of the case. A review of the district court opinions in Richmond (*Bradley v. School Board*, 338 F.Supp. 67, 1972) and Detroit (*Bradley v. Milliken* 338 F.Supp. 582, 1971) illustrates the range and complexity of evidence involved in mounting such litigation, spanning a broad spectrum of housing and educational patterns and including decisions and actions over an extended period of time.

There are national organizations, such as the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), that have participated in many of the suits to desegregate schools and other public services. If there are local or state affiliates of these organizations, it would be valuable to involve them at the initial planning stage. Tying into the experience of these organizations will be helpful in assessing the local situation, as well as in developing methods for making that assessment thorough and accurate. Also, the local units may well represent valuable repositories of information about the sequence of decisions and events that created the patterns of racial isolation in a particular metropolitan area.

The specific questions to be answered are what type of evidence is necessary and where may it be found? Potential plaintiffs will be looking for evidence (1) that racial segregation exists in the public schools (*prima facie* evidence is racially identifiable schools), and (2) that the racially segregated schools exist as a result of state or local officials' intentional or purposeful acts. With regard to the latter type of evidence, this guide must be equivocal, both because the Supreme Court has yet to explicate what evidence would justify interdistrict relief, and because of the uniqueness of each situation. There would appear little chance of a single type or piece of evidence, the "smoking gun," that would individually suffice. In *Milliken*, the Supreme Court even articulated an "isolated instance" doctrine, that permitted it to acknowledge an example of an intentional discriminatory action with interdistrict impact (busing black children from a suburban district past a white Detroit high school to a black Detroit high school), and yet state that this discriminatory behavior did not have a significant segregative effect (418 U.S. at 750).

State-level actions that create racial segregation may have sufficient impact to require interdistrict remedy. In the Wilmington case (*Buchanan v. Evans,* 393 F.Supp. 428, 1975), the district court found an interdistrict violation, primarily relying on a state statute that encouraged school district reorganization throughout the state, but specifically prohibited the Wilmington district (containing more than 40 percent of all black pupils in the *state*) from reorganizing.

The court decided that this boundary manipulation played a significant part in maintaining the racial identifiability of Wilmington and the surrounding suburban districts. This decision was affirmed without opinion by the Supreme Court (423 U.S. 963, 1975). It is, however, questionable whether such evidence will often be available, and there is a further limitation in *Milliken*, as the Court acknowledged discriminatory acts by the state of Michigan but decided their impact was limited to Detroit.

One consequence of the need to review local and state level governmental decisions on matters that affect attendance patterns in public schooling is likely to be a careful, tedious culling of the records of a wide variety of agencies and governmental bodies, including intergovernmental units such as regional or metropolitan planning authorities. This task argues for a systematic and coordinated approach, one which aggregates the efforts of the various groups and individuals in the community who are interested in reducing racial isolation in public schools. Because it is still unclear what type or amount of evidence will be sufficient, the process will probably entail accumulating substantial evidence that shows patterns of discriminatory effects, or from which intent could be inferred.

One type of evidence which has played an important role in lower-court decisions has been housing evidence. Obviously, discrimination in residential housing policies would have significant impact on the racial composition of public schools. Thus virtually every district court decision granting interdistrict relief has extensively discussed housing evidence. One serious concern arising out of the majority's opinion in *Milliken* is whether those members of the Supreme Court would consider evidence of discriminatory acts by other governmental agencies as justification for school desegregation. Justice Stewart, in a separate concurring opinion, implied his willingness to consider housing evidence in school cases (418 U.S. at 755). However, in a concurring opinion accompanying the reversal and remanding of a recent school decision for further consideration in light of *Davis* (*Austin Independent District v. United States,* 45 U.S.L.W. 3413 [Dec. 6, 1976]), three members of the Supreme Court expressed their opinion that the principal cause of public school racial imbalance was residential patterns, and that these were typically beyond the control of school authorities, resulting primarily from voluntary preferences. The tone of these remarks may indicate a disinclination to approve interdistrict relief predicated substantially upon housing evidence. This matter remains unclear, and lower courts have been generally receptive to evidence of segregative actions by nonschool governmental agencies.

Litigation of metropolitan school desegregation cases is still at the nascent stage. The Supreme Court has not elucidated this issue since the Detroit case and has dealt with litigation from Indianapolis, Wilmington and Louisville without issuing formal opinions. The demand for interdistrict remedies in urban settings will probably not diminish, because, as Judge Roth pointed out with regard to Detroit: "How do you desegregate a black city, or a black school system?" (quoted at 418 U.S. 729, n.8, 1974). Further, the advantage of initiating litigation as a pressuring device to motivate governmental consideration of interdistrict strategies should not be ignored. A good example is the Louisville situation, in which litigation was one, if not the, motivating factor which caused the city district to "voluntarily" dissolve itself, thereby leaving the county district responsible for its students and eliminating political boundaries as an obstruction to the reduction of isolation.

Isolation in Metropolitan Education: The Impact of the Courts — Barbara L. Jackson

From a review of pertinent Supreme Court cases, an attempt has been made to describe their impact on racial isolation and to evaluate the potential of the judicial process for the reduction of isolation in metropolitan areas. Three main issues discussed are cultural-racial group versus individual rights, the benefits and disadvantages of the judicial process and the value placed on education.

As a basis for developing criteria by which to measure the courts' impact, the implications of various goals and definitions of desegregation/integration are explored.

Finally, potential areas of impact of court-ordered desegregation on children and on the community are breifly outlined.

Race and the Individual Rights Controversy

The first issue to be examined in determining the courts' impact on isolation is that of race and American society. From this country's inception, the issue of the blacks — their status within the polity, their very definition as human beings — has created tremendous dissension.

The United States was founded upon the individual's right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Philosophically and practically, through the structure of government, the country attempted to separate the individual from the group and to ensure that enjoyment of these liberties was not dependent on group membership. In *Affirmative Discrimination,* Nathan Glazer (1975) suggests that the founding fathers made three fundamental decisions:

> that all may be included in the nation, that they may not establish new nations here, and that they may, nevertheless, freely maintain whatever aspects of a national existence they are inclined to (p. 28).

But even Glazer has admitted that for one group of immigrants these decisions did not apply: "there was one great group whose degree of deprivation was so severe that it was clearly to be ascribed to the group's, not the individual's status. This was the Negro Group" (p. 30).

For the slave it was not mere deprivation of the rights of a citizen; it was deprivation of his humanity. The definition as property was reinforced by the Supreme Court in the *Dred Scott* decision of 1857 and this concept may still be at the root of the race problem. What made the reinforcement of identity so easy was the visibility of the slaves and their descendents. Many try to overlook or underestimate the factor of color, but it would have been impossible to enforce the identification of the group without it.

Thus the battle was to establish the right to be defined as a human being first; only then could attention be turned to citizenship. A Civil War, three Constitutional Amendments and a period of Reconstruction were required to do this, after which the burden of enforcing these rights fell to the group.

Two centuries of culture were not to be overcome easily. But as the law changed, and advance through the political processes of the legislative and executive branches was blocked, the group turned to the judiciary for guarantees to the exercise of the newly granted right of citizenship.

The courts in their handling of these cases have reinforced group identity and pride and may thereby have contributed to further isolation. Cases were accepted as "class actions," i.e., the injury was on behalf of all like-citizens or those subject to the same deprivation or discrimination. The very labeling of a person as part of the deprived group became the unconstitutional act "per se and public school segregation [was] merely one example of such invalidity" (Blaustein & Ferguson, 1962, p. 143).

In some ways the court merely recognized a fact of life for this particular group, for no matter what other role or identification a black American may have, invariably it is the identification as black that dominates. The court emphasis on the group has not been without criticism. When the purpose was segregation, the counting by race seemed appropriate and necessary. But the same process, now being used to remedy past discrimination, is viewed by many as unacceptable and counter to the traditional American emphasis on individual rights. One such critic, Nathan Glazer (1975), states:

> In the early 1970's affirmative action came to mean much more than advertising opportunities actively, seeking out those who might know of them, and preparing those who might not yet be qualified. It came to mean the setting of statistical requirements based on race, color, and national origin for employers and educational institutions. This new court threatens the abandonment of our concern for individual claims to consideration on the basis of justice and equity, now to be replaced with a concern for rights for publicly determined and delimited racial and ethnic groups (p. 197).

> The implications of the new course are an increasing consciousness of the significance of group membership, an increasing divisiveness on the basis of race, color, and national origin, and a spreading resentment among the disfavored groups against the favored group (pp. 220-21).

It seems utopian if not myopic to believe that we can in this instance move quickly toward recognition of each individual on his or her own merits, when that individual is a member of a group stigmatized by a label that branded and to some extent still brands all members as inferior.

Advantages and Limitations of the Judicial Process

The more significant role of the courts, however, has been in reducing isolation. With the *Brown* decision, the courts overturned a total way of life and set into motion the most significant change in race relations in this country since the Civil War. Despite immediate and continuous resistance, the legal barriers that created almost complete isolation of people along the dimension of race have been largely dismantled by the courts, not only in public education but in every aspect of life in which discrimination existed.

In assessing the future potential of court action to reduce isolation, a number of disadvantages and limitations should be noted. The legal process tends to take complex issues and reduce them to simple questions with the appearance of definitive answers. Resorting to the courts often removes these complex issues from the political arena where compromise and consensus are the mode of operation and various groups' interests can be balanced; in doing so it may reduce the reliance on, and thus the responsiveness of, democratic self-government.

Further, the courts do not themselves enforce and therefore must depend upon the acceptance or at least the acquiescence of other branches of government and the people. The judicial process is oftentimes expensive for litigants; without the resources of groups like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), many of these rights would not now be enjoyed. The process is also long; in most of the cases involving constitutional violations, the decisions have been appealed more than once and several, sometimes many years generally lapse between the initial filing of a case and final adjudication. Many plaintiffs, such as the children on whose behalf school desegregation cases were originally filed, personally receive little if any relief as a result of their litigation. These factors raise serious questions as to whether legal action is the most effective vehicle to achieve a reduction of isolation.

Valuing Education

Despite the limitations listed above, court action mandating desegregation and equal opportunity has an added positive dimension with an impact much broader than the specific case or the particular remedy ordered. The courts carry a moral authority that speaks to and to some extent shapes the conscious beliefs and values of the country. To a large extent there is still what Archibald Cox (1966) has termed "a deep and continuing American belief in natural law" (p. 16), an almost automatic response that the courts' decrees are right and just, and should be obeyed. In conveying the need for and the legitimacy of remedying the deprivation of minorities caused by segregation, the courts have, because of this moral weight, helped create a national climate for action.

This role of enunciating the philosophical and moral beliefs of the country has been particularly significant in the area of education. In *Brown* the Supreme Court reiterated and bolstered the value placed on education in the United States, and then interrelated the quality of that education with nondiscrimination. That interrelating has formed the basis for one of the most powerful and persuasive arguments in favor of the reduction of isolation.

Criteria for Assessing Impact of Court Action

The Implications of Definitions and Goals

In the field of social sciences generally, and race relations in specific, agreed-upon definitions are a rarity. Nevertheless, in order to develop criteria for assessing the impact of court-ordered desegregation, it is necessary to set forth definitions to be used, particularly that of desegregation.

In *Brown* the Supreme Court established a new constitutional standard without once using the words "segregate" or "desegregate." Since the words used in each decision are carefully chosen, it would seem that the omission was no accident. Not only was "segregation" not used, but

> nor did the opinion delivered by Chief Justice Warren employ any verb, noun or adjective form of the word by way of substitute . . . The nine men used a much stronger word in the word "discrimination" (Blaustein & Ferguson, 1962, p. 150).

In emphasizing discrimination rather than segregation, the justices were able to move logically to the next step: "Laws based upon racial classifications are necessarily discriminatory and discriminatory legislation is unconstitutional per se" (Blaustein & Ferguson, 1962 p. 153).

The language used speaks to the violation of constitutional rights such that one would assume a list of these exists someplace. Unfortunately, or perhaps fortunately, the Fourteenth Amendment on which so many of the civil rights cases are based is not so explicit. "Equal protection of the Law" is the key phrase. This may be fortunate because the Supreme Court has read into that phrase an expanding list of rights subject to equal protection by state action. Clearly this reading has included a negative definition — i.e., every citizen is entitled to the right *not* to be discriminated against by the state on the basis of race. Leonard Strickman (1975) further explains the Court's definition:

> It was the racially based labeling process itself, or more accurately, the black child's perception of that process, which gave rise to the inequality. . . . In effect, the court was saying that, although the injury was a personal one, it arose by virtue of the individual's membership in a group that had been subjected to a discriminatory classification and it therefore could not be redressed without "declassifying" the entire group. It could not be redressed, in other words, without desegregation in fact (Strickman, p. 739).

The implications of this definition are both positive and negative. It reduces reliance on social science data, for the mere fact of being part of the group implied the stigma of race. It also, however, deemphasizes the issue of equal educational opportunity and tends toward a preoccupation with student assignment policies, ratios and single-race schools, aspects possibly less-directly related to quality education.

Although the Supreme Court did not use the word "desegregation," social science literature is full of definitions which may help clarify the concept of isolation. Nancy St. John (1975) offers a useful distinction between integration and desegregation:

> The word integration . . . to some people . . . connotes simply the mixing, voluntary or involuntary, of people of different racial or cultural backgrounds. For this concept, desegregation is used in this book. Other interpretations of the meaning of integration refer to equality of opportunity, to equality of equal status, to assimilation or to its opposite, the acceptance of cultural diversity (p. 4).

Differences as to the purpose or goal of desegregation emanate from this conflict over definition and again underline the limitation of the courts' approach to reduction of isolation. Hawley and Rist (1975) illustrate the conflict:

> If the goal is desegregation per se then the strategy if relatively simple — secure a reasonably proportional distribution of whites and nonwhites in each of the districts' schools. But few of us really favor school desegrega-

> tion for its own sake. Rather, we desire desegregation because of the impact we believe it has on children. . . . Seeing school desegregation as a process rather than as an outcome with its own justification has important implications for the way we proceed to determine the criteria which govern the assignment of students to schools. Thus, for example, "racial balance" alone would seldom be a sufficient factor on which to base a desegregation plan (pp. 413-14).

Elizabeth Cohen (1975) sees the end result of desegregation not as "universal love and brotherhood" but as:

> a reasonable degree of social integration and a lack of overt conflict wherby blacks and whites, given an objective important to both, can trust each other and listen to each other sufficiently well to complete the task at hand, whether it be a vocational task, or a political task (p. 273).

Gary Orfield (1975) sets even broader criteria for success:

> Desegregation, to be termed successful, must have eliminated widely held racial stereotypes, broadened the cultural values transmitted by the schools, and increased the access of minority children to quality educational programs — the conduit to preferred colleges and jobs (p. 314).

These criteria relate primarily to the process of school desegregation. But for many "desegregation" has much wider implications. One interpretation of *Brown* is that the Court used the schools as one illustration of a broader constitutional principle; i.e., classification by race in all facets of life was discriminatory. The latter position is well-stated by Betty Showell (1976):

> I view desegregation as the elimination of exclusionary political and legal structures and agreements and the inclusion of all statuses, classes, and races in the power groups and institutional arrangements which govern the distribution of symbolic, cultural, and material advantages (p. 402).

For the purpose of outlining some of the criteria that could be employed to assess the influence of the courts in reducing isolation, both definitions — one more narrowly confined to school children and the other related to the broader community — will be used.

Impact on School Children

There are at least four different areas in which court-ordered school desegregation may have an impact on students. Each requires different criteria for "success." These are: academic achievement, psychological or personality development, race relations and attitudes and access to resources and postschool success.

Improving academic achievement has been the most widely espoused purpose of desegregation, yet as Nancy St. John (1975) has demonstrated, evidence of markedly improved achievement on the part of black children in desegregated schools has been slim. It may, however, be too early to obtain an accurate and definitive picture, as improved achievement cannot be measured in isolation of other factors. It presupposes well-prepared teachers, relevant and appropriate curriculum, methods and materials adapted to the styles and strengths of the students, and leadership which creates a climate of learning and acceptance in the school system. All of these factors have not been present in all schools, much less at the same time. Outcomes must be measured comprehensively and over time.

Second, it has been assumed that desegregation would have a positive impact on personality in the dimensions of self-esteem, aspirations and self-concept. As with academic achievement, the tools available to measure this impact are less than satisfactory and credible evidence is small. There are also significant problems with focusing on this criteria. One is that it has served to reinforce the opposition of whites to attending formerly black or majority black schools. Another problem is that most large-city school systems, especially those in the North, now have predominantly black student bodies and, in many cases, a majority of black teachers and administrators; a few like Atlanta and Detroit even have majority black school boards. These criteria are obviously inappropriate where there are few whites in the school system.

The third area related to the outcomes for children is that of race relations. Here too there is less evidence than one would hope after 20 years. It has been assumed that more contact would reduce social-class and racial frictions. But this thesis, perhaps best articulated by Allport (1954) included conditions other than mere contact. Have these — a long period of time for contact, equal status and common goals, approval and support of authorities — been present in desegregated schools?

St. John (1975) sums up the findings of numerous studies of the impact of school desegregation in the above three areas:

> On the basis of this evidence biracial schooling must be judged neither a demonstrated success nor a demonstrated failure (p. 119).

Her review concludes that the academic gap between white and black children has not been dramatically closed, that racial attitudes have not been changed to a measurable degree and that the evidence on improved self-esteem and self-confidence is mixed. Citing the methodological shortcomings of most research in this area, she cautions against the assumption, therefore, that desegregation should be abandoned. In explaining why the research to date has been so inconclusive, she offers some important clues as to criteria for success:

> First, desegregation is not a simple phenomenon, even for a single child in a single situation. Instead there are a number of dimensions to the experience, some favorable and some unfavorable. Second, and third, the way in which desegregation is implemented, on the one hand, and the particular needs of individual children, on the other, may condition the outcome. If desegregated children gain in some respects but not in other respects or if gains for some children or some classrooms are counter balanced by losses for other children in other classrooms, average gains would appear as inconsistent and statistically insignificant as they in fact do (pp. 88-89).

It becomes apparent that measures must be developed on a different scale to give much more attention to the many critical conditions within biracial schools and in individual classrooms. In addition, longitudinal studies would seem imperative to effectively assess the impact of desegregation.

The fourth area, that of access to resources and postschool success, will also require long-term measurement. This factor can be defined in terms of "life chances": "A child's future ability . . . to participate fully in the social, economic, and political life of society . . . in terms of such outcomes as ultimate earnings, occupational status and political efficacy" (Levin, 1975, p. 217).

Although no one factor can be singled out as major, causal or determinant, the schools, because of their sorting and screening function, exercise some control over these life chances. According to Levin (1975), "because of the inherent inadequacy of our present tools, there is no social science consensus on the appropriate educational strategies for improving the life chances of children from low income and minority backgrounds" (pp. 220-21). While the difficulties in doing so are apparent, efforts should be made to design and test out measurable strategies for improving life chances.

Impact on Community

As noted earlier, for many people one critical measure of the success of school desegregation is its positive impact on the larger community, particularly the extent to which it forces change in the community power relationships. The Supreme Court in *Brown* set into motion a number of forces that eventually led to different people gaining access to positions of authority. At the same time, that and subsequent decisions probably increased isolation by contributing to white flight and black containment.

Community impact can be illustrated by the dynamics resulting from school desegregation litigation. Such litigation is usually initiated by a group of black parents, who, at least when the action is first brought, have children in racially isolated schools. Bringing the action focuses attention for the first time on community isolation in general; it also usually stimulates and coalesces the support of other groups and individuals who provide the pressure often needed to keep the case before the public.

In almost every instance, especially when busing may be a part of the remedy, a countergroup is immediately formed. In some communities, such as Boston and Louisville, members of this group have been involved in violent action, but under better circumstances this group forces dialogue about community isolation and various possible means of remedying it.

Formation of this counterforce then stimulates organization of a third, "neutral" force, composed of groups such as the League of Women Voters and/or the local chamber of commerce. Its mission is often to provide a forum for the opposing views, and to legitimize the peaceful process, whatever the outcome. In some cities this neutral force has been given official recognition through the court's order and charged with at least partial responsibility for monitoring implementation. Atlanta and Wilmington had such a group; the masters and a variety of organizations share these responsibilities as part of the Boston school desegregation plan.

In turn, the impact of these forces set into motion by the legal process may be observed through a number of measures. The degree to which the pro-desegregation and neutral groups serve as a base for more general reform activities is perhaps the most significant measure. The extent of violence in the community would be another. Christine Rossell has suggested changes in voting behavior, both in terms of general increases and on particular issues, as a third. The number, representation and platform of office-seeking candidates might be yet another.

Summary

The issues discussed and the criteria set forth for assessing the impact of court-ordered school desegregation represent an incomplete and very general listing. There are a multitude of complex forces other than those covered operating in metropolitan areas. In addition, each area has unique characteristics requiring a specific mix of measures. Hopefully, this analysis will serve as a starting point for policy makers as they search for appropriate solutions to improving the social environment for all American citizens.

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The Urban Fiscal Crisis: Proposed Solutions and the Impact on Isolation

— Margaret C. Simms

Economics and technology have been major factors in the formation, growth and structure of cities. Industrialization drew people into cities and fostered their growth. Advances in transportation and architectural technology (in combination with government policy in the United States) promoted the diffusion of population over a wide area. Unfortunately, governmental structure has not kept pace with these changes and the composition of local governmental units is no longer compatible with modern lifestyles and locational patterns.

Technological and economic factors have increased movement among communities, but rigid political boundaries have prevented meaningful interaction among their residents. Not only have people been isolated from each other, but fiscal resources are often separated from areas of greatest public need. This paper outlines migration patterns within and between metropolitan areas, describes recent financial problems and discusses several proposed solutions to fragmentation in government and their impact on isolation.

The Development of Cities

When an economy begins to industrialize, cities become the focus of economic activity and people are drawn into cities by the job opportunities that result from industrial progress. Once centers of activity form, it is cheaper for other businesses to locate near them. The existence of established transportation and communication facilities and labor markets lowers the cost of production and marketing. Therefore, once a city reaches a certain minimum size, the growth process accelerates.

In the United States, the movement toward cities began after 1840. Initially, economic activity was located close to the existing transportation network, rail- and waterways. As cities continued to grow, land and housing became more expensive. Businesses helped to push residential areas outward and transportation advances made it feasible to live further away and still commute to the central business district on a daily basis. As population expanded, city boundaries were redrawn. However, this could continue only as long as the adjacent land was unincorporated. "By the end of the nineteenth century, however, the outward movement had started to outrun the ability of the core city to enlarge its legal boundaries" (Bollens, 1970, p. 15). This was especially true when highway construction and FHA promotion of home ownership accelerated the diffusion of economic activity.

The spread of population over several interdependent communities led to the concept of a metropolitan area consisting of numerous legal entities. The overlap of governmental units and the mobility of the population have created problems in the provision of local services which have been exacerbated by differences in the socioeconomic status of residents in different communities. Although the division varies by region, the pattern of population and economic growth is clear.

By 1968, 64.6 percent of the United States population was urban but the majority of that population was outside the central city. Throughout the nation, population growth is higher in the suburbs than in the central cities. What is more distressing is the fact that the older cities of the North and East are losing population. In addition, central cities throughout the country show changes in the composition of the population that indicate increasing socioeconomic isolation. The central city populations are becoming poorer, with significantly larger minority populations than their surrounding suburbs (Heilbrun, 1974, pp. 31, 52).

Local Government Problems

The provision of public services is divided among the three basic levels of government in the United States — national, state and local — and so are the various tax instruments. Unfortunately, there is a mismatch between the assignment of function and the distribution of revenue-raising powers. In addition, the isolation of people by socioeconomic status means that people and needs are not evenly distributed among communities.

This mismatch is evident from the elasticities of local expenditure and revenue bases. Elasticities indicate the growth of one variable in relation to the growth of another. The elasticity of city expenditures with respect to the growth in Gross National Product (GNP) over the decade of the sixties was 1.4 (Heilbrun, 1970, p. 5). This means that for every 1.0 percent growth in GNP in the United States, city expenditures grew 1.4 percent. At the same time, a 1.0 percent growth in GNP brought only a 1.0 percent growth in local tax bases. Thus, cities find themselves forced to raise tax rates in order to meet expenditure demands. These increases have been met by taxpayer revolts, manifested in the defeat of bond issues and in increased migration to suburban communities with lower tax rates.

The arguments in favor of small local government lay emphasis on the quality of government services. People differ in their preferences for different types of services and a large number of small governments, providing different mixes of services, should allow people to find the community that provides the package of government services they desire. The small size of the governmental unit should also promote citizen participation and efficiency in service provision. In addition, the small size promotes innovation in and competition among communities. For example, it is known that innovation in public schools is inversely correlated with school district size, over the upper size range (Bish, 1973, p. 37).

There are, however, potent counterarguments which rest on the issues of economies of scale, metropolitan interdependence and equity among taxpayers. The economies-of-scale argument is based on the idea that a certain minimum population size is necessary in order to provide a service at minimum cost. If the population is below that size government cannot operate efficiently.

When metropolitan interdependence exists, the movement of people across government boundaries often means that service provision is affected. People use services in communities other than the one in which they pay taxes and their levels of service affect other jurisdictions in the region. For example, the education and health services received by a person in one community will affect people in other communities as that person moves about. These are examples of what economists call externalities. When externalities or economies of scale exist there may be inequities in tax burdens. A taxpayer in a community that is too small or one which provides services to nonresidents has to bear a greater tax burden than an identical taxpayer in another community. If this inequity is not corrected there will be a tendency for taxpayers to move to communities where they can get a "better deal."

The empirical evidence is mixed; it supports both sides of the government size argument. Governmental expenditures have more than tripled over the past two decades (Pettengill and Uppal, 1974, p. 12). Fifty percent of the increase over the past decade is the result of inflation; other factors include the composition of the population, the growth of the commuter population and the increased strength of public labor unions. The fact that a large part of the population in many cities is nonwhite and poor creates a demand for more and better public services. This is especially true for education since the nonwhite population tends to be younger and have more children (Pettengill and Uppal, 1974, p. 25).

The decline in private provision of certain services, such as mass transit, has put additional burdens on cities. It also appears that the commuter population puts added strain on the budget so that per capita expenditures are higher in the central cities than in the suburbs.

While expenditures have increased in cities of all sizes, the increases have been greatest for large cities (Muller, 1975, p. 23). Not only do large cities provide more services, but those services tend to cost more without a resultant increase in quality. A major factor is the high labor content of public services and the neighborhood orientation of many services, which prevents savings through productivity increases or larger plant size. In larger cities this tends to be exacerbated by labor union strength. All of these factors indicate that government service delivery may be most efficient in units of 50,000 to 100,000 population (Hirsch, 1968, p. 509) with the exception of air pollution control, sewage disposal, transportation, power, water, health and hospitals and planning. For education there appear to be some economies for individual high schools and for special programs, but not for district provision of regular educational service.

City revenues have not kept pace with the growth in expenditures. Indeed, only the growth in intergovernmental aid has prevented more severe cutbacks on service (Pettengill and Uppal, 1974, p. 38). The stagnation in locally generated revenue is the result of two factors. The tax base of local governments is not as responsive to increases in economic activity as local expenditures or the federal tax base. In addition, the migration of people and businesses away from the central cities, especially in the North and East, has changed the distribution of wealth among governmental units. Both personal income and residential property values are higher in the growth areas, the suburbs and the sun-belt cities, than they are in declining areas. Consequently, the apparent tax burden of central city residents is higher. This also makes the suburbs more attractive locations for citizens who are mobile.

Proposed Solutions

A number of possible solutions to the financial crisis in central cities have been proposed, ranging from local governmental reorganization to federal and/or state assumption of responsibility.

Annexation

Annexation and consolidation have been recurrent tools in American governmental change with mixed results. The goals are to eliminate duplication of effort and increase government accountability through reduction in the number of overlapping (city, county and special district) jurisdictions, and to reduce per capita expenditure through captured economies of scale and redistribution of tax burdens. In their review of governmental reorganization, however, Bish and Ostrom (1973) found that the new governments had a higher degree of professionalism with increased service levels and increased costs, a gradual decline in minority representation and little redistribution of tax burdens. They conclude:

> . . . sufficient evidence exists to cast profound doubt upon reform proposals to improve urban governance by the consolidation of all units of government into a single unit of government for each metropolitan area. Implementation of such proposals will probably make matters worse rather than better (p. 93).

In contrast, a study of annexation in Richmond by Muller and Dawson (1976) indicates a short-term fiscal gain for the central city (p. 9). However, this gain was due primarily to the decline in white enrollment in the public schools resulting from court-ordered busing. They concur with other researchers:

> . . . annexation can have a positive long-range fiscal effect upon central cities if the area being annexed includes higher income residents and/or business firms, and open land for expansion.
>
> Further benefits in the form of scale economies in service provision can be realized if the population of the city does not exceed a population of about 50 thousand as a result of annexation (p. 80).

Alternative Forms of Governmental Reorganization

Other forms of reorganization include the two-tier government and the service contract. Under the service contract, a city contracts with a larger unit to receive services, usually at a reduced cost, without having to give up its independence. While this approach allows a government to take advantage of economies of scale, it does nothing to reduce community isolation.

The two-tier government model is closely associated with Toronto, Canada, where it has been relatively successful. This approach divides services into areawide and neighborhood functions. The neighborhood functions are still supplied by the local governments and the other services are provided by the new regional government. Some consolidations in the United States, such as Miami-Dade County and Nashville-Davidson County, are similar to two-tier governments since they are urban and rural service districts. Although Toronto found that regional government increased its borrowing power, Miami was unable to relieve its financial problems until new tax authority was provided by the state. This suggests that the financial base is more important than the form of government. In the area of education, McLure (1976) discovered that the two-tier approach in Illinois school systems worked well in the provision of services for special educational groups, such as the handicapped.

A variation of the two-tier model is the cooperative approach, a noncompulsory division of responsibility among various local governments. A good example is the Atlanta "Plan of Improvement" (1950) which divided responsibility for the provision of services between city and county governments. The main problem with the cooperative approach is that the division is often vague and cooperation is usually temporary.

Increased Aid

Governmental reorganization is not necessary in order to relieve financial burdens and equalize service provision. This can often be accomplished through increased intergovernmental aid or state assumption of responsibility. The aid remedy has been widely used in the area of school finance in the post-Serrano era. Where there has been court and public demand that educational opportunity (as judged by fiscal resources) be equalized, the response has been increased state aid. States have started to increase their share of the educational burden and have instituted new distribution formulas which include better measures of need and ability-to-pay. Unfortunately, reforms have been sensitive and based, in part, on the existence of state budget surpluses, and the recent recession has slowed the pace of school finance reform (Callahan and Wilken, 1976).

Conclusions

The financial crisis in cities has affected and been affected by socioeconomic isolation by governmental unit. The migration of middle-class residents, promoted by economic and technological factors, has an adverse impact on the central city's ability to provide services at reasonable costs. This unfavorable financial situation, in turn, has accelerated the outward movement.

Efforts to relieve financial problems in central cities may reduce community isolation. Annexation, consolidation and the creation of regional governments all reverse the increasing socioeconomic isolation, at least initially, since a larger population is included in the governmental unit. However, the increased cost of providing services and the possible change in the service package may eventually cause middle-class families to move further out. Their ability to do this will depend on the amount of territory covered by the new government and the nature of the transportation network. Even if these families do not move, the Richmond study shows that they may withdraw their children from the public schools. This certainly does nothing to reduce isolation in the schools.

Increased intergovernmental aid, on the other hand, tends to equalize tax burdens regardless of residential location. The higher the level of taxing authority (state or federal) the more difficult it is to engage in tax avoidance. While this approach has no direct impact on isolation, it will tend to reduce isolation caused by differential tax and service packages among communities.

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Nonpublic Schools and Public School Isolation — Dorothy Huenecke

Nonpublic schools have played an important role in American education since colonial times. Academies requiring tuition began to appear in the East in the 1780s; in the South public education was virtually nonexistent as those with wealth sent their children to private schools in England, or, if necessary, in the East. Although a commitment to public education was witnessed as early as the Deluder Satan Act of 1647, support waned as the 18th century progressed and in some areas public education was actually in jeopardy in the latter part of the century (Tanner and Tanner, 1975).

Today 1 in 10 elementary and secondary school students attends nonpublic schools. This represents a moderate decline in enrollment during the last 10 years, although the number of private schools has remained fairly constant since 1960. Of importance in this context are the shifts and changes that have occurred regarding enrollment vis-a-vis sectarian and nonsectarian schools, geographic distribution of nonpublic schools and reasons for private school enrollment.

Sectarian Schools

The largest component in the sectarian category is the Roman Catholic schools. The Catholic School System of New York City, for example, is the fourth largest city school system in the United States. Segregation, as evidenced by the following, is prevalent in the city's Catholic schools, due primarily to the disproportionate number of black versus white students:

- About half of the students attend all-white schools;
- Over 80 percent of the students attend Catholic schools that are 80-100 percent white;
- About half of the black and Spanish-surnamed students are in schools with a nearly equal balance between minority students and white students;
- Fewer than one percent of the teachers in Catholic schools is black.

Despite this picture of isolation, Sweeney (1972) advances the following viewpoint as to the potential of Catholic schools for reducing isolation:

> (there is) mounting evidence that *parochial schools slow down the flight of whites from a changing neighborhood and act as a stabilizing force* . . . the Catholic school has greater "holding power" for whites than does the public school (p. 4 as quoted in Donohue, 1968).

But the Catholic schools may be losing force. Between 1965-66 and 1970-71 they lost more than one million students, forcing the closing of over 2,000 schools with an additional decrease of over 1,000 more projected by 1973-74. The almost spectacular decline after 1965 was not paralleled in overall nonpublic schools; according to a 1970 U.S. Office of Education survey Catholic school enrollment dropped by 17 percent from 1961 to 1970, but other nonpublic school enrollment increased 66 percent (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1975). With their continued decline, whatever positive role the Catholic schools might play in advancing school desegregation and maintaining neighborhood stability is in jeopardy.

Nonsectarian Schools in the South

In direct contrast, nonpublic schools are flourishing in the South. From 1961 to 1971 alone nonpublic school enrollment increased by 32 percent (HEW, 1975) though it is worthy of note that nonpublic school enrollment in the South is still significantly below the national average. This rapid rise of nonpublic education in the South is due largely to one factor: desegregation in the public schools.

According to Walden and Cleveland (1971), segregation academies began to appear in the South after the *Brown* decision, increased significantly in number after the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and "mushroomed" in 1969 and 1970 when "freedom of choice" was no longer legally an alternative for avoiding desegregation (p. 234).

Statistics from Alabama are revealing. In 1969 the rate of private school enrollment varied proportionately to the percentage of blacks in the public schools: when the black enrollment was 51 to 75 percent of the school population, 21 percent of the white students left the public schools; when it exceeded 75 percent, 53.5 percent of the white students left. In this way it has been estimated that in the four years after 1967, 50,000 white students in Alabama entered non public schools (Walden, 1971, p. 234).

Prior to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 an estimated 9.2 percent of black public school students in the South and border states attended desegregated elementary and secondary schools, and private schools were not a significant factor. It is no coincidence that the compulsory school attendance law was repealed in Mississippi in 1964. Although not all private schools in the South (especially those established prior to the mid-fifties) are havens for whites fleeing blacks, the segregation academies which serve that purpose deserve special attention.

Segregation Academies

Perhaps the most blatant example of the use of private schools to avoid desegregation and the subsequent impact on the public schools is in Prince Edward County, Virginia, where public schools were closed in 1959 and remained closed until ordered open by the Supreme Court (*Griffin v. City School Board,* 84 S.Ct. 1226, 1964) in 1964. During that time most white students attended Prince Edward Academy while black students were forced either to leave the county, and in some cases the state, or to forego public education for those four years. That the academy still accounts for the vast majority of white students in the county is evidenced by the fact that in 1973 the public schools were 92 percent black (Hansen, 1972).

Observations regarding the facilities of these academies are indicative of the extent to which their patrons will sacrifice to obtain a segregated education. According to Nevin and Bills (1976):

> Most of the new schools are delapidated, worn, a little dirty, short on supplies and materials, cramped, offering few opportunities for enrichment. They are, in short, the very sort of places that would enrage taxpayers if offered to children by the public schools (p. 52).

Ironically, although one frequent attack against school desegregation is that it involves busing students for many miles and long hours, Levine and Griffith (1976) found that 10 segregated academies they surveyed bused a higher percentage of their students than the public schools, and for longer distances (p. 7).

It is important to note that by 1970, many of the Southerners, Southern educators and educational groups who decry the segregation academies were actively fighting them. The Georgia Independent Schools Association denied membership to schools having policies of racial exclusion. The Executive Committee of the American Library Association recommended censuring any member of the association who served in a segregation academy and the general conference of the United Methodist Church adopted a resolution calling for "appropriate legal action" against such schools (Cleghorn, 1970). But potentially greater impact lies in the area of court rulings and governmental action; a brief review of pertinent court cases and the governmental agencies in this area is illuminating.

The Role of the Courts

Both state and federal courts have played a substantial role in determining the constitutionality of segregating practices and in interpreting desegregation legislation. By 1972 courts had stopped the following: the sale of public school buildings to private schools that are racially discriminatory, the payment of salaries from public funds to teachers who refused transfer for desegregation purposes and who were working in segregation academies, and tuition grants for students in discriminatory nonpublic schools. In 1973 the Supreme Court invalidated a Mississippi program of furnishing textbooks to students attending private schools having racially discriminatory policies. This decision appears to preclude the application of court decisions permitting various forms of aid for sectarian and other private schools to schools which practice racial discrimination. Among the types of public aid which can be afforded to nonracially discriminatory private schools without offending the constitution are lunch programs, public health services, bus transportation and textbook loans (HEW, 1975). A chronological listing of selected, relevant court cases follows:

1961	*Hall v. St. Helena Parrish School Board,* 197 F.Supp. 649 (E.D.La. 1961), *aff'd per curiam,* 385 U.S. 515 (1962)	A Louisiana statute creating "tuition vouchers." Practice was invalidated for discriminatory schools.
1964	*Griffin v. County School Board,* 84 S.Ct. 1226 (1964)	The closing of public schools to avoid integration was ruled unconstitutional. (This case related to the closing of schools in Prince Edward County, Virginia).
1971	*Green v. Connally,* 330 F.Supp. 1150, *aff'd sub nom., Coit v. Green,* 92 S.Ct. 564 (1971)	An IRS provision allowing tax exemptions to schools with racially discriminatory practices was ruled unconstitutional.
1973	*Norwood v. Harrison,* 93 S.Ct. 2804 (1973)	A Mississippi statute permitting the loan of textbooks to racially discriminatory schools was overturned.
1974	*Wheeler v. Barrera,* 94 S.Ct. 2274 (1974)	Title I, ESEA of 1965, required comparable programs for deprived public and nonpublic school children. The court ruled that comparability does not require identical programs. This decision strongly favored local planning and control.
1976	*Runyan v. McCrary,* 96 S.Ct. 2586 (1976)	The civil rights statute which ensures that all people shall have the same right to make and enforce contracts as is enjoyed by white citizens, prohibits private, commercially operated schools from denying admission to prospective students because they are Negroes. The statute does not violate constitutionally protected rights of free association, privacy or parent's right to direct the education of their children, but it does prohibit racial discrimination.

The Role of Government in Nonpublic Education

Governmental support for nonpublic schools is widespread. The federal government has lent support to private schools through its legislative and judicial branches; state governments have followed similar policies, with all states supporting and/or regulating nonpublic education.

Federal assistance for nonpublic schools includes support for school lunches, milk and breakfast programs, authorization for loans for labs and special equipment as outlined in the National Defense Educational Act, and assistance for remedial and preschool programs (Selected Federal Programs, 1970, p. 51). The major federal legislation in support of private education is the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965. Title I, providing federal funding of special programs for educationally deprived children in both public and nonpublic schools, was the first law to require nonpublic school representation in the planning of local programs.

Public commitment to supporting nonpublic schools is significant, although clearly not unanimous; a Gallup Poll in 1969 indicated that almost 60 percent of those polled approved direct public subsidy to students in nonpublic education. But concern over public support for segregated nonpublic schools was expressed in the Fleischmann Report (1972); its authors went on record against further aid unless nonpublic schools took action against segregation:

> In New York the extent of racial segregation in sectarian schools on the whole exceeds that which prevails in the public schools. *We do not feel that we can advocate increased aid to nonpublic schools where the degree of segregation is so acute, while at the same time we would have the public school system devote its attention and resources to relieving the inequities caused by racial imbalance.* . . . Any aid which the State might determine to provide sectarian schools. . . ought . . . to be conditioned on these schools making intensive affirmative efforts to overcome segregation (vol. 1, p. 55).

Two agencies potentially empowered to reduce isolation in nonpublic schools, the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) and the Office of Civil Rights (OCR) of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW), deserve special attention.

The Internal Revenue Service

The IRS has traditionally granted tax exemptions to private schools. In 1971 in *Coit v. Green* (92 S.Ct. 564, 1971) the U. S. Supreme Court ruled unconstitutional the granting of such exemptions to schools with racially discriminatory policies. The task of determining the racial policies of the previously exempt 17,000 private schools then fell to the IRS.

In November of 1970, prior to the Supreme Court's decision, the IRS sent out a questionnaire to all nonpublic schools which required the schools to (1) state whether or not their admission policy was discriminatory and (2) submit proof of publication where nondiscriminatory policy was asserted. No further burden of proof was imposed.

IRS offices were directed in 1973 to review 2 to 4 percent of the private schools in their district; the minimum 2 percent were reviewed in the Southeast. It became clear "that government policy would be to accept (nondiscriminatory) assurance at face value. Public assurance since that time has been, more often than not, an inconspicuous notice in the local newspaper with little or no action to support it" (Hansen, 1972, p. 12).

The effects were predictable. In 1972, 50 out of 70 private schools of the South Carolina Independent School Association were granted tax-exempt status despite membership in the Citizen's Council of America, an organization dedicated to segregation, and the fact that they were all established after 1964 and had all-white staff and student bodies (Terjen, 1972, p. 50). Prince Edward Academy, described earlier, also enjoyed tax-exempt status as of 1973.

The Office of Civil Rights

The Office of Civil Right's jurisdiction over nonpublic schools stems from two mandates: HEW's surplus property program and the Emergency School Aid Act (ESAA) of 1973 which prohibits the transfer of property to discriminatory nonpublic schools. HEW's only collection of racial and ethnic data for nonpublic schools is for those that apply for surplus property.

OCR's approach to categorizing schools differs somewhat from that of IRS. Nonpublic schools that have no minority students or faculty are assumed to be noncomplying as are schools which do not have a publicized nondiscrimination policy; only schools which can prove that policies and procedures do not prohibit minority students or faculty are designated as being in compliance. But little priority is given to compliance; OCR was unable to provide the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights information on the number of nonpublic school reviews, much less the number of reviews resulting from noncompliance, or the disposition of complaints received in fiscal 1973 (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1975). Adding to the problem, communication is virtually nonexistent between the OCR and the IRS.

Supplementing these minimal and fragmented efforts to prevent outright discrimination in the nonpublic schools, there is another form of activity which may have a significant impact in reducing isolation in both private and public schools.

Public and Nonpublic School Cooperation

According to Title I of ESEA, 1965, public school districts that receive and administer Title I funds are to devote an appropriate proportion of the funds to the educationally deprived in nonpublic schools; support can include shared textbooks, library materials, transportation, guidance and counseling services and remedial help in reading and math.

This cooperation — as exemplified by programs in New York City, New York; Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; and Hartford, Connecticut — expanded opportunities and was not only valued by participants but affected, in some cases, significant student gains (Hartford City Board of Education, 1972).

Although there are many other examples, public/nonpublic school cooperation is difficult to achieve. An appraisal in the National Society for the Study of Education (NSSE) Yearbook of 1968 is still applicable:

> In many urban centers, public and nonpublic schools that might profitably share their services and facilities continue to operate in insular detachment. In other cases, efforts to arrange concerted action run afoul of so much prejudice and bureaucratic inertia that pedestrian outcomes are viewed as a triumph of diplomacy. To be sure, the idea of sharing is not universally or painlessly applicable. . . . But it seems the only explanation for some barriers to cooperation is a deeply ingrained resistance to mutuality between public and nonpublic schools. (Erickson & Greeley, 1968, p. 308).

Summary

Proponents of nonpublic education cite as its advantages:

1. Tax savings: if nonpublic students were enrolled in public schools, many more buildings, instructional resources and personnel would be necessary at public expense.
2. Quality education: public education may be of high quality if there are fewer students (and therefore smaller classes) in public schools due to nonpublic school enrollment.
3. Neighborhood stability: nonpublic schools, particularly sectarian schools, may act as a stabilizing force for transitional neighborhoods.
4. Educational options: nonpublic schools sometimes offer diversity in instructional styles and offerings not available in public schools.

Disadvantages cited include the segregative impact on public schools, the siphoning off of those whose leadership is needed to support public education (both at present and in the future), and the drain on the educational dollar when parents pay tuition in additional taxes, which often results in opposition for increased aid to public schools and the failure of bond issues. The latter situation has been most acute in the South:

> States where the private segregated school movement is strongest historically have lagged far behind the rest of the nation in their financial support for public education. . . . Southern states do not have the economic strength to support two school systems. One of the principal reasons Southern educators found it so difficult to upgrade public schools in the past was the crushing financial burden of operating a dual school system (Walden, 1971, p. 238).

Assessing the extent of isolation in nonpublic schools, or their potential role in the reduction of isolation is difficult. It is *almost* impossible to obtain information about nonpublic schools. It *is* impossible to gain a comprehensive view of private education. Neither state departments of education nor the federal government know the number of nonpublic schools that discriminate on the basis of race (HEW, 1975). Nor is there a state or federal agency which systematically collects information about the number, size, types of facilities or the breakdown of student enrollments in private schools. These facts aid in an understanding of the confused, fragmented and limited nature of the attempts that have been made to eliminate discrimination in private education. But they are also indicative of the low priority placed on those efforts.

Two findings of this research could be generalized to, and in fact are reinforced by, some other examinations of possible vehicles for the reduction of isolation. First, discrimination, with consequent isolating effects, is a significant problem within the institution (in this case, nonpublic education) itself, which places severe limitations on its potential for having a positive impact on public education. Second, although incentives are available for eliminating at least this discrimination, and to some extent, for reducing isolation vis-a-vis the public schools, they are largely punitive or negative incentives. The apparent lack of leadership and momentum in this area may be attributed in part to this negative aspect. But given the absence of serious, widespread efforts to implement more positive incentives, it has become clear that the low priority accorded the reduction of isolation in public education is equally, if not more, the result of racism, inertia and resistance to change.

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The Higher Education System and Public School Isolation — Dorothy Huenecke

Leadership in achieving equal educational opportunity might reasonably be expected from institutions of higher education since, historically, direction for organization, administration and instructional strategies in elementary and secondary education have come from colleges and universities. However, the role that higher education might take in facilitating movement toward reducing isolation in elementary and secondary schools is lessened by the unresolved problems of isolation remaining in higher education itself.

The Extent of Isolation

The general trend over the last 35 years has been for more Americans to attend school and to stay in school for longer periods of time. But the increase in educational attainment and enrollment in higher education has been more outstanding for blacks than for whites. Between 1960 and 1974, the number of nonwhites, aged 25-29, with a high school education increased by almost 33 percent; the increase among the same group for whites was closer to 20 percent, or 50 percent lower. In 1968 blacks composed 6.4 percent of college students 16-24 years of age; by 1973 that figure had risen to 8.4 percent, an increase of over 30 percent (Digest of Educational Statistics, HEW, 1974). But as of 1972-73 only 2.7 percent of the doctorates awarded went to black students (HEW, 1974), and it is worthy of note that the majority of these (59 percent) were in one area — education (HEW, 1974).

Total enrollment figures may camouflage a crucial aspect of minority enrollment: the dropout rate. Just as fewer minority students finish high school than their white counterparts, fewer blacks who enter college graduate (Condition of Education, 1976, p. 229).

Future enrollment trends may be inferred from the plans of high school seniors. Postgraduation plans for high school seniors in 1972, 1973 and 1974 indicate similarity between those of whites and blacks. Of interest, fewer blacks than whites indicated they had no education plans although there does appear to be a trend for a smaller percentage in all groups to identify college as their postgraduation plan (Condition of Education, 1976, p. 218).

An important measure of the success of education, particularly higher education, in reducing isolation is the extent to which it provides students with future "life chances" (see Jackson, Chapter IV). Both the positive trends in black higher education opportunities and higher dropout rates among blacks must be weighed against this critical postgraduation context: a college degree is becoming less and less of an assurance to employment. Unemployment rates for black college graduates were close to and in one year lower than those of their white counterparts in the late sixties and early seventies, but they are increasing and the gap is widening once more (Condition of Education, 1976, p. 242). In general, minorities suffer from a greater rate of unemployment with or without a college education, and:

> It is ironic but inevitable that just as college opportunities are finally within reach of so many new students, the colleges are losing their capacity for social and occupational placement. Because so many have been to college, a college education is now a necessary but no-longer sufficient condition for social mobility. Not having the degree may block opportunities, but having it will not ensure them. (The Second Newman Report, 1973, p. 18)

A brief evaluation of the isolation-reducing potential of predominantly white and black institutions and government action in this area follows.

Isolation Within Predominantly White Institutions

If a black student overcomes the myriad of obstacles involved in obtaining admission to most majority-white higher education institutions, including discriminatory or irrelevant entrance requirements and insufficient financial support, he or she may encounter another severe type of isolation on campus. In examining the perceived sources of academic problems of blacks at predominantly black institutions and blacks in predominantly white institutions, Jones et al. (1970), found that the blacks in predominantly white institutions were more likely than their counterparts to give priority to the following items: inadequate high school preparation, poor study habits, communication with instructors, competition with other students, finances and inadequate social life. One commentator has observed:

> Experience in the white senior college or university in most cases (there are some significant exceptions) seems to lead the student toward an increasing awareness of his blackness, toward an identity not with all people but with black people. One student, asked how he had changed since coming to college, put it simply: "I've become bitterer and blacker" (Davis, p. 14).

One response to this problem on the part of majority white university and college administrators has been to provide separate academic programs and residences for their black students; this was particularly popular in the late sixties. According to Kenneth Clark (1974), these actions simply solidify the isolation:

> The pathos of black students in predominantly white colleges and universities who are demanding segregated social and academic facilities is matched only by the subtle guile and cynicism of white academic and administrative officials who grant these demands with a speed unprecedented in the tortuously slow and pedantic academic process. These segregated facilities in predominantly white colleges are, in fact, duplicating within campuses the process of institutionalized educational segregation. They are racist. They perpetuate the damage done to black youth . . . . In reinforcing the pattern of personal insecurity and frustration, and in exploiting the fears of black students, white college administrators and decision-makers are accessories to these illegal forms of segregation on their campuses, and, intentionally or unintentionally, are agents of that dehumanization and intellectual inferiority being perpetrated on a whole generation of potential leaders of black people in the United States (pp. 159-60).

The isolation of black students in predominantly white institutions highlights the problem of the differing, sometimes contradictory, definitions of and criteria for reducing isolation. Moving toward assuring racially mixed enrollment at predominantly white colleges and universities may meet the criteria of contact and exposure to cultural diversity, but in some instances it may also heighten immediate isolation and as a result obstruct or limit reduction of isolation by other criteria, such as maximizing opportunity to prepare for future life chances. In this context, predominantly black institutions have offered for many a viable alternative, but that option may rapidly be closed out.

Black Colleges and Universities

According to the Office for the Advancement of the Public Negro Colleges, there are 34 historically black public colleges, almost all of which are located in southern or border states. *The Directory of Traditionally Black Colleges and Universities* (1971) lists a total of 87 traditionally black four-year institutions. A comprehensive overview of enrollment is not easily obtained because some reports include two-year black colleges and others collect data from institutions "predominantly" black as contrasted with "historically" black. But in 1974 the Office for the Advancement of Public Negro Colleges reported that blacks composed 6.7 percent of the total enrollment in higher education, with approximately 24 percent of that figure attending historically black, public institutions; 12 percent in historically black, nonpublic institutions; and 64 percent in historically white institutions (Jones, 1970, p. 7)

Although total enrollments in black colleges have increased there are actual and anticipated decreases for some of these schools. One significant problem is direct competition from predominantly white institutions located in the same city or within easy commuting distance. In almost all of these cases, the black school was there first and the white school duplicates its programs and draws funding from the same source (Fourth Annual Report of the Educational Opportunity Fund, 1972-74, 1975). According to Egerton (1971):

> the prevailing pattern is one of racially separate and unequal higher education . . . .

> (None of the schools) rates as a good bet to remain prodominantly black but become equal in status, prestige, staffing and funding to its predominantly white sister institutions (p. 15) . . . . Wherever public black colleges exist, they are either facing the loss of black identity through integration or merger, the loss of quality through attrition and neglect. The only alternative they don't have — and never have had — is to be black and equal (p. 29).

A Federal District judge has recently called for the merger of predominantly black Tennessee State University and a new branch-campus of the University of Tennessee in Nashville. His ruling marks the first such-ordered merger of two institutions of higher education, and is of potentially far-reaching significance for the future of black colleges and universities (Egerton, 1977).

Threats to the survival of black institutions strike at the very heart of many blacks who vigorously assert their worth and their contribution:

> Most crucial to the black community and the nation is the continued survival of the black colleges. Their doors are open today to masses of black students who cannot afford the high cost of predominantly white institutions . . . generally their students are poorer than those attending predominantly white colleges . . . the black colleges, provide the training and dedication offered reluctantly, if at all, by their more prestigious brother institutions. It is the black colleges that have graduated 75 percent of all black Ph.D's, 75 percent of all black army officers, 80 percent of all black doctors . . . the black college represents to black students what other schools traditionally associated with a particular religious outlook or ethnic group represent to other Americans — the availability of the choice of going to a school that embraces their past, their concerns and their values (Jordan, 1975, p. 165).

The nurturing and maintenance of black colleges and the demand for their equality presents a dilemma: as black schools become more equal, they are likely to attract white students, thus diluting the "blackness" of the institution. White enrollment in black colleges, though slight in most cases, is continuing to rise, recently constituting approximately 12 percent of the total enrollment in black public colleges (Jones, 1970).

Reduction of Isolation: Federal/State Action

Federal funding for higher education, although presently at a low ebb, has in recent years been substantial. For example, in fiscal 1971 2,368 units of higher education received $3.48 billion from 14 federal agencies. As a condition of these funds the institutions are supposed to comply with a number of legislative and executive mandates prohibiting discrimination on the basis of race, sex, creed or national origin (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1975).

But according to a 1974 report on education from the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, guidelines detailing specific compliance responsibilities for higher education institutions are lacking, such that enforcement of desegregation in this area has lagged even behind that of elementary and secondary schools. In drawing guidelines there are obvious problems which distinguish higher from elementary and secondary education. These are primarily related to the noncompulsory nature of college attendance, the organizational structure of higher educational systems and the complex mix of public and private institutions.

Prior to 1973, no significant efforts had been undertaken by the federal government to reduce segregation in higher education. Four years after the passage of the Civil Rights Act in 1964, HEW officials visited campuses for the purpose of observing compliance with the Act, at which time 10 states were found to be operating racially segregated systems of higher education. By 1970 each of these 10 had been notified that they were to prepare statewide desegregation plans by a specific deadline, ranging from 60 to 120 days (Stuart, 1974, p. 2). However, personnel changed at HEW and OCR, and as of 1973 no desegregation plan from any state was even "obtained and accepted" (Stuart, 1974, p. 3).

But 1973 was a decisive year in the movement to reduce isolation in higher education, *Adams v. Richardson* (351 F.Supp. 636, D.D.C. 1972), a suit filed in the District of Columbia charging that HEW had failed to enforce Title VI in higher education, was decided in November 1972. Judge John Pratt ruled against HEW and ordered that the agency require compliance plans from the offending states in February of 1973.

As of this date there are dual systems of higher education still in operation and, despite the Pratt decision, plans for desegregation have not been accepted from all states involved. Lack of clear guidelines for what constitutes compliance remains a problem; the absence of these guidelines is indicative of the confusion and conflict as to the priority of desegregation on the national level.

However, slow progress is being made at the state level. As an example, the University System of Georgia's plan for desegregation, submitted in June of 1974, described its integration as a "steady, occasionally difficult process that is moving well and soundly, with due regard for the educational and human issues involved" (Office of Civil Rights, 1974, p. 24). Evidence of its progress can be obtained from student and faculty make-up. In 1965 minority students composed 0.9 of the total enrollment; by 1972 this proportion had risen to 6.3 percent. During this same time period minority faculty increased from 1.6 to 5 percent of the total faculty (p. 26).

Alternative Models

So far the discussion has focused primarily on the extent of, and efforts to prohibit, discrimination. But much more is required to begin to reduce isolation in higher education and, hopefully, to impact positively on elementary and secondary public education.

Although they are often sporadic and uncoordinated, there are efforts being made to meet the criteria of equal status and equal access to opportunity. Some states, like New Jersey, offer financial aid and academic supportive services to minority college students (Fourth Annual Report of the Educational Opportunity Fund 1972-74). Open admissions and free tuition, although the latter seems increasingly unfeasible, are also significant efforts to meet these criteria. But there are a number of other services which could have direct impact on the isolation in the secondary schools as well. These include:

- Counseling services which provide assistance in making college and career choices. These are particularly helpful for high school freshmen and sophomores and are provided by both higher education institutions and independent agents.
- More extensive programs, such as College Bound, which target support to minority students throughout high school, as well as assisting them in making an appropriate college choice. These may be provided by or in cooperation with colleges and universities which then admit and offer financial assistance to successful program graduates.
- Expanded outreach programs, such as Antioch's, conducted by colleges and universities, to recruit students "who normally would not seek college as a means for realizing their potential" (Graham, 1963-67, p. 6).
- Cooperative programs between high schools and community colleges which would expose minority students to the college experience. These could range from an option to substitute a year at the college for the 12th grade, if basic state requirements had been completed, to an option to elect certain courses on the community college campus. An important variation on this theme would be a high school equivalency program available at the college to older students who had either dropped out or been pushed out of high school.

Summary

Examples of efforts aimed at reducing isolation have been outlined as several models from which communities might develop remedies tailored to their unique needs. But until these problems of isolation in higher education are solved, there appears to be little hope that institutions of higher education can provide leadership in the reduction of elementary and secondary school isolation.

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Metropolitan Research Designs — Marcia M. Feld

A fundamental assertion of social science research is that the environment in which we live is produced by the interrelationships of various community systems. Urban planners are becoming increasingly convinced that for planning to hold any promise of accuracy and efficacy it must consider such interrelationships, the most complex and crucial of which may be those between the development of the schools and the overall development of the city. It is with this methodological approach that an effort has been made to outline a process whereby interested individuals or groups may begin to: determine the extent of isolation in a metropolitan city; discover the interrelationships between the various systems that contribute to this isolation; and develop a planning base for education programs to reduce isolation throughout the entire metropolitan area.

The underlying assumption dictating selection of variables for this study is that a change in one system of the metropolitan whole effects a complex reaction in all the other systems, although the kind and degree of impact varies. In particular, the researchers have sought to determine the ties between the education system and the other community systems in the metropolitan area. Neither a city nor a school system develops independently of the other; rather each grows and changes partly in response to the other's needs and solutions.

Moreover, there are different dynamics among different groups in the community and the education system. For example, expectations concerning the schools' role in the community vary widely and include: the teaching of fundamental skills, supporting and fostering stability in the community and the prevention or amelioration of social and economic ills. To analyze the interaction between the education system and these various groups and the consequences of community/school relationships for the different client communities requires an identification of each group, its goals and the mechanisms through which it seeks to achieve them, particularly participatory strategies.

Without the articulation of the general values and specific goals which shape the education system of today, there will be no reasonably successful development of policy and program recommendations for the school systems of tomorrow. Citizen participation shapes educational goals for the school system. Traditionally, the dialogue has been between the school boards and the professional educators; this has been expanded to include teachers, and to some extent, concerned parents and citizens, with more and more minorities involved by the late sixties. With the absence of this component of goal clarification, any analysis done can only be approximate and limited to the values of the researchers.

As a basis for model building, a team of investigators may develop a metropolitan profile that relates to the forces of isolation, through a process of describing trends in specific variables that influence the isolation of school children. The development of such a profile is predicated on three basic assumptions:

1. Self-imposed isolation based upon individual and group preference is compatible with democratic principles in a culturally pluralistic society, provided that such isolation does not interfere with individual rights to explore options in exercising equal opportunities.

2. It is the responsibility of public education to assure that all students have an equal opportunity to study, experience and explore options.

3. Isolation in the schools is largely a consequence of forces in the broader societal areas within which the schools find themselves.

The key variables selected here for analysis illustrate the last assumption and underlie the others. No one set of variables will fit every metropolitan area; there is, however, a generalized framework of information categories which is more or less relevant depending upon the geographic area as well as other exogenous characteristics. These include demographic and socioeconomic baseline data described in the following information system model.

Information-System Model

Information-system modeling is predicated on a set of assumptions about the system with which it is concerned. In this case, it is further constrained by the need to simplify an extraordinarily complex set of relationships which together compose a community, a metropolitan area or a region.

The aforementioned assumptions, primarily that a number of metropolitan interrelationships significantly affect the nature of the public school system, require as a subgoal a systematic method for relating the impact of such functional areas as housing patterns, economic bases, income, job market, transportation, land use, population characteristics, social services and environmental quality. These variables, in turn, must be related to the nature of school enrollment; curriculum attendance patterns; teacher training, supply and dispersal; revenues and expenditures; and educational goals and policies.

An information system can be viewed as a set of methods and procedures which order the data to be examined. The system outlined here could be generally applied to data collection; it consists of a process with the following phases:

1. Setting of goals.
2. Setting of geographic boundaries of study area.
3. Development of research design.
4. Development of preliminary work program/review of data needs.
5. Selection of variables which relate to goals.
6. Data collection.

Setting Goals

Goal setting occurs at two levels: general and action goals from the study design and operational goals. The general goals and assumptions have been touched on already. A set of operational goals for this particular type of study would include:

1. Obtain information in order to understand the dimensions of the forces of isolation in their social, economic and demographic context.
2. Apply comprehensive urban planning methodology to an educational system issue; integrate the analysis of school systems with other urban systems within the metropolitan area.
3. Systematically and comprehensively identify minority group student isolation and describe and analyze the factors which would lead to reducing this isolation.
4. Systematically and comprehensively identify issues and problems, strengths and weaknesses, of interdistrict collaboration.
5. Review the primary data sources for accessibility, validity and cost of collection.
6. Identify and contact agencies who are data sources for different demographic, socioeconomic, racial and ethnical characteristics of the target metro areas.
7. Develop statistical analyses through the utilization of a method which correlates variables with a purpose of study that will lead to comparability for information assessment.
8. Develop some inferences from this data array which can be related to hypothesized causes of student isolation inferentially, and utilize these for suggesting solutions.

Setting the Study Area

The area to be studied may be defined by a number of different criteria. The Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA), if it reflects growth and development, is the most convenient definition because so much of the necessary data is collected by that unit. Other definitions include county boundaries, particularly in the case of consolidation, or the boundaries set forth in a metropolitan desegregation suit. For this type of research any of these three definitions might be used, depending upon the appropriateness to the individual target areas.

Selection of Variables for Metropolitan Profiles of Isolation

Primary and secondary variables for an information system determining the extent and causes of metropolitan isolation consist of basic demographic, housing and socioeconomic characteristics of a given area, and would include:

General area characteristics
Number and boundaries of governmental units in the metropolitan area
Number and kinds of major services provided by various units, including special districts
Land-use patterns
Zoning
Transportation: auto registration, mass transit, origin and destination studies
Time-interval studies
Historic development
Recreational and cultural facilities

Demographic characteristics
Municipality by population size 1960, 1970 and racial/ethnic composition
Concentration of non-English-speaking population
Migration pattern by municipality
Population density
Age distribution
Birthrate, fertility ratio and death rate by cause
Average family size
Projections

Housing characteristics
Owner-occupied units by race
Median home value by race
Renter-occupied units by race
Median contract rent by race
Changes in housing price
Age of housing units
Number and location of public, standard and dilapidated housing
Number of units rehabilitated (221d, 235, 335)
Subsidized units by number, type and race
Household density

Economic characteristics
Household income distribution
Employment by occupational categories, by race
Unemployment rate by race and age
Poverty level by race
Property valuations
Commercial and industrial developments

Educational characteristics
Educational levels of the adult population
Student achievement
Local educational goals
Curricular offerings
School expenditures, by category and per child
School tax rates
Federal aid received
Staff characteristics

Political characteristics
Voter registration; correlation of registration with racial residential patterns to approximate registration by race
Number of publicly elected officials by race
Number of publicly appointed officials by race
Community groups, especially antisegregation groups and their activities
Governmental civil rights activities

Data Search and Data Stop

After an assessment of the list of variables for relevancy, the initial data collection can be commenced. In developing five metropolitan profiles as background for the Metropolitan Educational Alternatives Project (MEDALS), 29 raw data tables were used for primary data. These are included for reference in Appendix A.

Primary data for all tables except *Characteristics of Industrial Firms* may be collected from the Census of Populations and the Census of Housing, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. A full census is conducted every 10 years, the last having been done in 1970. Significant trends may be apparent from a comparison of 1960 and 1970 data. Some very specific information may be unavailable or may be obtained only through the utilization of fourth count census tapes. Demographic and some housing information is broken down by race. In 1960 the designation "non-white" included all minorities; in 1970 there was a further breakout of Spanish-speaking persons.

The secondary data search may involve numerous sources. On the federal level, agencies with pertinent information would include the Office of Civil Rights and the Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare; the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights; the Department of Housing and Urban Development; the Cooperative Extension Service of the Department of Agriculture; and the Department of Transportation. State agencies with useful information might include the state counterparts of the federal departments listed above. Pertinent regional agencies and organizations would include any areawide redevelopment authorities, planning commissions, service districts and local colleges and universities, particularly those with urban-oriented programs, such as urban observatories.

Statistical Analysis

After completion of the initial data collection, key indicators must be developed from the primary data and formated into profile tables. For the MEDALS project, 5 demographic chacteristics and 6 social and economic characteristics were selected from the 29 indicators reviewed; the juxtaposition of these yielded profiles of the interrelationships which contribute to isolation:

Demographic characteristics
Total population 1970
Percent nonwhite population 1970
Total population 1960
Percent nonwhite population 1960
Percent change in total population 1960-70

Social and economic characteristics

Median family income 1970
Percent employed as professionals or managers 1970
Median school year completed 1970
Percent owner-occupied housing 1970
Median home value 1970
Percent persons below poverty level 1970

For those who have computer resources a program could be written at this stage to produce a closer approximation of the interactions. Several techniques are available including the Spearman Rank Correlation Test and an analysis for variance. Farley's Index of Dissimilarity, which does not require computer assistance, could be employed as an alternative or in addition to the above.

Inferential Data Analysis

At this point the profiles may be analyzed in terms of their inferences for two critical questions: Where can impact be made and by what policies?

Policy impact areas suggested by the MEDALS research were transportation access, industrial location, affirmative-action hiring, housing and land use, particularly the future use of vacant land and zoning. There are other important areas of intervention, for which sufficient data was not collected, but which merit study; these include the tax structure, federal governmental distribution of production, governmental reorganization and responsibility and public education system elements.

Further Data Needs for Educational Planning

Three additional variables will provide a helpful data base for the planning of educational programs to reduce isolation. These are school enrollment projections and inventories of facilities and community resources (The Metropolitan Planning Project, 1974, *1*, 66-68).

A. Educational planners in various districts may have developed enrollment projections. Where such information is not available, it may be necessary to develop an enrollment-projection model.

During the sixties, school age population increased in most metropolitan areas as the overall population increased. This trend will likely not continue into the seventies. Enrollment statistics from the early 1970s reveal a possible new pattern in many communities with fewer children entering the first grade than entering high school.

In developing an enrollment-projection model, certain variables must be examined for each district. These include but are not limited to:

1. Proportion of school age children actually attending school.
2. Percent and projected distribution between private and public schools.
3. Migration factors in past years — derived from comparisons of survival ratio predictions and actual enrollments, modified by factors 1 and 2 above.
4. Future influence on migration:
   a. Economic changes in district, in-or-out migration of industry and land-use trends.
   b. Expansion of institutions, e.g., universities.
   c. New housing construction.

B. It is important that data be gathered for use in determining available spaces for assignment of students to educational programs and facilities without regard to traditional district lines; that these data be coded and placed in a retrieval system of all such facilities; and that they are easily accessible to all metropolitan school systems.

In order to develop and implement effective metropolitan collaboration in education, it is necessary to know what educational facilities, public and nonpublic, are available and where they are. There is frequently no such single, current, comprehensive metropolitan inventory available. To reach this objective, the following activities will be necessary:

1. Develop criteria for an inventory, including definitions of teaching stations and capacity.
2. Develop separate reporting forms showing categories of programs affecting secondary and elementary age school children.
3. Develop a retrieval system.
4. Using research and development sources, send sufficient forms for an inventory to cooperating districts with return date.
5. Process and program completed forms for storage in retrieval systems.

C. An inventory must be developed of community resources able and willing to participate in integrated, innovative educational programs.

Some of the innovative, integrated educational programs presently operating in and proposed for various metropolitan areas are premised upon off-campus learning at "nonschool" institutions in the metropolitan community. Such institutions include industry, religious and social service organizations, broadcast and journalism media, colleges and universities and cultural institutions. Additionally, the metropolitan area is rich in creative people — "noneducators" — who have ability and enthusiasm to offer to the educational process but whose talents have been largely ignored.

The purpose of a community-resource inventory would thus be to have readily available information on how the community can respond to perceived educational needs, and how resources within the community can help define the contributions which the schools can make to the education of the area's children. The following activities will be necessary to complete this objective:

1. Survey community institutions for their educational capacities and their commitment to offer their resources, involving students wherever possible in survey activities.
2. Solicit biographical data and statement of possible educational interests of "noneducator" community members.
3. Develop criteria with maximum student participation to select these people and institutions whose statements coincide with the goal of reducing isolation; implement the selection procedure.
4. Match those selected resources with stated educational needs by a retrieval system.
5. Design a systematic means for disseminating the complete and categorized community resource inventory and for keeping it up-to-date.
6. Plan for the development of a facility and mechanism of exchange, training and cooperative planning between educators and community-resource people.

MEDALS PROJECT
Social and Economic Characteristics
Metropolitan Area ________

Place	Median Family Income ($) 1970	% Employed as Professionals or Managers 1970	Median School Year Completed 1970	% Owner Occupied Housing 1970	Median Home Value ($) 1970	% Persons Below Poverty Level 1970

Raw Data Forms: Demographic Characteristics

Table 1
1960 Census: 1970 Census: Population by Race and Spanish Language

Year	Total Population	Total Population				Nonwhite								Spanish Language	
		White		Nonwhite		Black		Native American		Asian American		Other			
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
1960															
1970															
1960-70 Increase (+) Decrease (−)															
% Change in Proportional Distribution															

Table 2 Census Population Increase or Decrease: 1960-70	
1960-70 Increase (+) or Decrease (−)	
% Change 1960-70 Increase (+) or Decrease (−)	
Balance of Births to Deaths Excess of Births (+) Excess of Deaths (−)	
Net Migration Excess of People Moving In (+) Excess of People Moving Out (−)	

Table 3 1970 Census: Fertility Ratio by Race	
Total Population	
White	
Black	
Spanish-American	

Table 4
1970 Census*: Household Population by Race

Race	Total Population	Population in Households	
	#	#	%
White			
Black			
Other			
Total			

Table 5
Number of Families by Sex of Family Head

Family Head	Total Population	White	Black	Spanish-American
Male				
Female				
Total				

Table 6
1970 Census*: Age Distribution by Race

Age	Total	White		Nonwhite		Nonwhite			
						Black		Other	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Under 5									
5 - 9									
10 - 14									
15 - 19									
20 - 24									
25 - 44									
45 - 64									
64 and over									
Total									

Table 7
1970 Census: Nativity and Parentage

Nativity	Total Population		White	Black	Spanish-American
	#	%	#	#	#
Native of Native Parent					
Foreign Stock					
Total					

Table 8
1970 Census: Most Frequent Country of Origin of Foreign Stock

Country of Origin	# of Persons	% Foreign Stock Population

Table 9
1970 Census: Spanish Population Indicators

Indicators	# of Persons	% of Total Population
Spanish Origin or Descent		
Puerto Rican Birth or Parentage		
Spanish Language		

Table 10
1970 Census: Most Frequent Mother Tongues Other Than English

Mother Tongue	# of Persons	% of Total Population

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*On these tables comparing data from the 1960 and 1970 census may be useful.

Table 11
1970 Census:* Count of Persons 25 Years of Age and Over by Race and Years of School Completed

Level and Years of School Completed	Total Population		White		Black		Spanish American	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
No School Year Completed								
Elementary: 1-4 years								
5-6 years								
7 years								
8 years								
High School 1-3 years								
4 years								
College: 1-3 years								
4 years								
5 years or more								
Total								

Raw Data Forms: Socioeconomic Characteristics

Table 12
1970 Census: Median School Years Completed

Total Population	White	Black	Spanish-American

Table 13
1960 Census; 1970 Census: Median Income

Year	Families				Unrelated Individuals			
	All	White	Black	Spanish-American	All	White	Black	Spanish-American
1960								
1970								

Table 14
1970 Census*: Employment Status by Race of Persons 16 Years of Age and Over in Labor Force

Employment Status	Total Population		White		Black		Spanish-American	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Employed								
Unemployed								
Total								

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*On these tables comparing data from the 1960 and 1970 census may be useful.

Table 15
1970 Census*: Number of Employed Persons 16 Years Old and Over by Occupation

Occupation	Total Persons Employed		White		Black		Spanish-American	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Professional, Technical and Kindred Workers								
Managers and Administrators except Farm								
Sales Workers								
Clerical and Kindred Workers								
Craftsmen, Foremen and Kindred Workers								
Operatives, Except Transport								
Transport Equipment Operatives								
Laborers, Except Farm								
Farmers and Farm Managers								
Farm Laborers and Foremen								
Service Workers, Except Private Household								
Private Household Workers								
Total								

Raw Data Forms: Economic Characteristics

Table 16
1970 Census*: Number of Persons in Families and
Number of Unrelated Individuals with Income Less Than Poverty Level

Family Status	Total Population		White		Black		Spanish-American	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Persons in Families								
Unrelated Individuals								
Total								

Table 17
1970 Census*: Number of Related Children Under 18 in Families
Below Poverty Level by Presence of Parents

Parental Presence	Total Population		White		Black		Spanish-American	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Living with Both Parents								
Other								
Total								

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*On these tables comparing data from the 1960 and 1970 census may be useful.

Table 18
Characteristics of Industrial Firms

Industry	Number of Firms	Annual Payroll in $	Average Number of Employees	Average Annual Wage in $
Agriculture and Mining				
Construction				
Manufacturing				
Transportation, Communication and Utilities				
Wholesale and Retail Trade				
Finance, Insurance, Real Estate				
Service Industries				
Total				

Raw Data Forms: Housing Characteristics

Table 19
1970 Census*: Selected Housing Characteristics

Total Housing Units						Occupied Housing Units						Median Value Owner-Occupied Unit	Median Contract Rent
Total		Vacant		Occupied		Total		Owner-Occupied		Renter-Occupied			
#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	$	$

Table 20
1970 Census*: Number of Housing Units by Occupancy Status and Race of Head of Household

Occupancy Status	Total		White Head of Household		Black Head of Household	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Owner-Occupied						
Renter-Occupied						
Vacant Year-Round			Not Applicable			
Total						

Table 21
Building Permits Issued for New Dwelling Units: 1960-71

Year Issued	Number
1960-64	
1965-70	
1971	
Total	

Table 22
Number of Subsidized Housing Units by Type of Unit by Construction Status: 1973

Status	Total Subsidized Units	Federally Subsidized Low-Income Units			Federally Subsidized Moderate-Income Units			State-Subsidized Low- and Moderate-Income Units	
		Elderly	Family	Leased	Elderly	Family Homeownership	Rental Assistance	Low	Moderate
Completed									
Under Construction									
In Planning									

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*On these tables comparing data from the 1960 and 1970 census may be useful.

Table 23
1970 Census*: Age of Housing Units

Year Built	Total Housing Units		Black-Occupied Housing Units		Other-Occupied Housing Units		Spanish-American-Occupied Housing Units	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
1965-March 1970								
1960-64								
1950-59								
1940-49								
1939 or earlier								
Total								

Table 24
1970 Census: Number by Persons per Room in Occupied Housing Units by Race of Head of Household

Persons per Room	Total Occupied Units		Black-Occupied Units		Other-Occupied Units	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
1.00 or less						
1.01 to 1.50						
1.51 or more						
Total						

Table 25
1970 Census*: Type of Housing Structure

Type	# of Structures	% of Housing Units
1 Unit		
2 Units		
3-4 Units		
5-9 Units		
10 or more Units		
Mobile Home or Trailer		
Total		

Table 26
1970 Census*: Average Number of Persons per Housing Unit

Total Occupied Housing Units	
Black-Occupied Housing Units	
Other-Occupied Housing Units	
Spanish-American-Occupied Housing Units	

Table 27
1970 Census*: Value of Owner-Occupied Housing Units by Race and Head of Household

	Total Owner-Occupied Units		Black-Owner-Occupied Units		Other-Owner-Occupied Units		Spanish-American-Owner-Occupied Units	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Less than $5,000								
$5,000-7,499								
$7,500-$9,999								
$10,000-$12,499								
$12,500-$14,999								
$15,000-$17,499								
$17,500-$19,999								
$20,000-$24,999								
$35,000-$49,999								
$50,000 and over								
Total								

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*On these tables comparing data from the 1960 and 1970 census may be useful.

Table 28
1970 Census*: Monthly Gross Rent by Race of Head of Household

Monthly Gross Rent	Total Renter-Occupied Units		Black-Renter-Occupied Units		Other-Renter-Occupied Units		Spanish-American-Renter-Occupied Units	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Less than $30								
$30 - $49								
$50 - $69								
$70 - $89								
$90 - $119								
$120 - $149								
$150 - $199								
$200 - $249								
$250 - $299								
$300 or more								
No Cash Rent								
Total								

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*On these tables comparing data from the 1960 and 1970 census may be useful.

Factors Affecting Reduction of Isolation in Public Education — Charles E. Daniels

The public educational system in the United States is a multifaceted institution that can be defined as an instrument of reflection, perpetuation and causation. General conditions of housing and economic patterns, discrimination and varying opportunities for particular groups of people in the social system are mirrored in the public classrooms, such that public schools could be considered a microcosm of our society.

The institutions of governance, schools and residents of central cities and suburban areas are becoming increasingly isolated and alienated from one another because of various forms of discrimination which limit the access of most blacks to suburban residential, educational and employment opportunities. If this trend is not reversed, the United States will become:

> An alienated world . . . in which the parts are . . . separated out, a world that exhibits intractable forms of fragmentation and irreducible polarities . . . (what) essentially defines alienation is not separation as such — for some kinds of separation are desirable — but the Humpty Dumpty plight of not being able to put the separated parts together in any scheme of meaningful relationships (Murchland, 1971, p. 30).

Although methods of segregation enforced by public law or policies (*de jure*) have been dealt with by the courts, recent trends point to increased "natural" *de facto* segregation.

Racism is perhaps *the* fundamental element that must be resolved before total access to residential, educational and employment opportunities is achieved by blacks. One method to achieve access and reduce racism is the desegregation of public schools. The primary objective of this effort is to investigate some of the factors affecting the provision of public eduction in the United States and the relationship each has to the ultimate objective of the reduction of segregation in the educational system.

Part I presents and analyzes demographic characteristics and patterns that have affected public education in urban America. Part II identifies the effects of change on public education that have resulted from these demographic changes. In Part III, four agents of change — the educational system, the courts, local government and open housing — are described and their roles in educational segregation defined. Testing of the hypotheses offered in the first three chapters is done in Part IV, with the 6-county, 10-school-district Atlanta region being used as a case study. Part V concludes the report by outlining policy recommendations, strategies and implementation processes designed to facilitate the process of educational desegregation by expanding the residential, economic, political and social opportunities for blacks in this country.

Part I: Demographic Characteristics and Patterns

The population of the United States has almost tripled from the 1900 figure of almost 76 million to 203 million in 1970. In that same period, the number of students enrolled in public schools tripled, and total educational expenditures increased from $220 million to almost $40.3 billion (Statistical Abstract of U.S., 1973, p. 119).

The distribution of this growth has not been uniform; it has occurred primarily in urban areas where from 1920 to 1970 alone, the population almost tripled (Ottensmann, 1975, p. 18). Neither has the distribution *within* urban areas been even. In the past three decades, the proportion of blacks in the central cities has steadily increased, as whites have had the opportunity — economically, socially and politically — to move to suburban residential communities. In the North homes abandoned by these whites were taken by

Southern blacks moving North in hopes of finding better economic opportunity, escaping the deprivation of *de jure* segregation and improving their social, educational and political opportunities.

Over the past eight years, there have also been significant changes in the distribution and the pattern of population *among* metropolitan areas. Growth in metropolitan areas (Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas, or SMSAs) with more than 3 million residents has been negative, while those SMSAs with populations between one and three million have maintained positive, but sharply reduced, growth rates. In contrast, SMSAs of less than one million population have experienced increased rates of immigration since 1970 (Hummel, 1973, p. 75).

Regionally, the northeast and north central SMSAs have shown no stagnation or growth, the western SMSAs have greatly reduced growth rates and the southern SMSAs continue to grow, but at slightly lower rates. Since 1970, the northeast has lost 869,000 whites to net outmigration and for the first time in decades had a net outmigration of blacks also. The net change of blacks moving in and out of the South is practically balanced, a dramatic reversal of the past great black migrations to the Northern industrial centers. This is undoubtedly due in part to the South's economic promise, evidenced by the fact that between 1967 and 1972 the total employment growth rate was five times that of the Middle Atlantic states and manufacturing employment increased 7 percent while decreasing 12 percent in the Middle Atlantic states (Sternlieb, 1975, pp. 7-11).

The racial differential of outmigration from the cities to suburban areas is pronounced. Between 1970 and 1974, three times as many whites as blacks left the central cities to move to the suburbs (17 percent to 5 percent). Of note, 40 percent of the city-to-suburb movers relocated, not in suburbs surrounding the city in which they lived, but rather in suburbs in a different metropolitan area (Barabba, 1975, pp. 47, 57). The same proportion (20 percent) of blacks in metropolitan areas lived in suburban areas in 1974 as in 1960. And frequently these suburban blacks:

> live in segregated suburban concentrations that date from the early 1900s or in rural parts of metropolitan counties; generally, the housing located in these outlying black residential concentrations is of relatively low quality (Kain, 1974, p. 13).

The shift in population has precipitated changes in income, education and employment. The average income in 1973 of those families and individuals who left the cities was $14,200 compared with an average income of $12,900 for families inmigrating; their aggregate income was $55.3 billion compared to a total of $29.6 billion for those entering the cities (Kain, p. 55).

Employment has followed the out migration of its labor pool and market to the suburbs. As examples, between 1958 and 1967, manufacturing employment rose 7 percent in cities and 32 percent in suburbs; retail trade employment rose 8 percent in cities and 61 percent in the suburbs; and wholesale trade employment increased 11 percent in cities and 90 percent in suburban areas.

One of the more important results of employment shifts from cities to suburban locations is that a growing number of the suburban jobs are blue-collar, while traditional white-collar employment, although stagnant over the last five years, is centered in the cities. The reasons for this shift include changes in manufacturing production technology and short-distance transportation, and a great availability of public services in suburban areas. This pattern of occupational distribution is the reverse of residential patterns, with large numbers of lower-income residents living in central cities and the majority of white-collar workers living in the suburbs. The educational backgrounds and work experience of many of the lower-income residents are not suitable for the types of jobs available in central cities near areas where they live, such that central-city unemployment is as much as twice the national average (Kasarda, p. 115).

Such employment shifts coupled with limited access to suburban housing by blacks, produce the inefficient phenomenon of reverse commuting. A disproportionate share of blacks, regardless of occupation, commute from central city homes to suburban jobs. This fact helps refute the contention that the lack of suburban black housing is primarily due to economic consequences rather than racial discrimination. Earnings, unemployment and occupational status show a high correlation to residential location for male white workers but little relationship to nonwhite male residential location.

Education is the occupational qualification which can increase a worker's income, thereby widening the economic opportunities for suburban housing. But the additional earning capability of increased education is another employment factor which shows dissimilar correlations between races. As the table shows below, nonwhites do not realize additive earnings from additional education until they achieve 16 years of schooling for the central city and 13 years for suburban areas.

Table 7
Additive Earnings Model, 1966 (Harrison, 1972, p. 112)

Years of School Completed	Incremental Weekly Earnings in			
	Central City*		Suburban Areas	
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
9	$15.52	$0.00	$20.26	$0.00
12	4.46	0.00	10.54	0.00
13	13.36	0.00	19.96	13.75
16	38.26	42.33	45.36	23.17

*Central city excluding the ghetto

Part II: Effects of Change on Public Education

Public education, although a nationally accepted policy, is implemented on the local level and much of its success, or lack of it, is based on the characteristics of a local jurisdiction. One of the primary characteristics of a local jurisdiction is the taxpayers' ability to support a school system. Although the percentage of local support for public education has decreased, such local taxes in 1973 paid for 50 percent of public school expenditures. The table below compares school expenditures between 1960 and 1973 by source of funds for all public schools.

Table 8
Public School Expenditures, 1960-73*
(Amounts in billions of dollars)

Source of Funding	1960		1966		1970		1973	
	Amount	%	Amount	%	Amount	%	Amount	%
Federal	0.7	5	2.2	8	3.6	9	5.1	10
State	5.6	35	9.6	40	16.1	40	20.8	40
Local	9.5	60	14.6	52	21.0	51	26.3	50
All Other	0.1	—	0.1	—	0.1	—	0.1	—
TOTAL	15.9	100	26.5	100	40.8	100	52.3	100

*Statistical Abstracts of U.S., 1973, p. 108

Many cities have experienced a net outflow of earnings income as their middle-income residents have moved to suburban areas and lower-income residents have moved in, seeking the service advantages offered by the city. This lost tax base places an increased burden on those residents left in the city and school taxes are no small part of this burden. Characteristically, school taxes composed between 50 percent and 60 percent of the property taxes collected by local government.

According to the President's Urban Education Task Force, other factors in the financial crisis of urban schools include:

- Higher cost of urban education than rural.
- Inequitable state aid formulas that tend to shortchange urban school systems.
- Dwindling popular support and confidence in public education.
- The minimal level and minimal effect of federal funds (Riles, 1970, pp. 20-81).

State aid, totalling 40 percent of all public school expenditures in 1973, has been found to play a very important role in providing the fiscal resources for education. State aid formulas frequently favor suburban areas, so much so that " . . . a great portion of the educational disparities between suburbs and cities can be explained by state aid (Haar, 1972, p. 60). As an illustration, a study of the 37 largest SMSAs in 1970 revealed that in 28 of them the central city received less state aid than the school systems outside the city, receiving more in seven and receiving the same in two of them (Pettingill, 1974, p. 74).

Many states have their educational aid formulas based in part on the average daily attendance (ADA) (the average number of students that come to class on any one day). To their disadvantage, most city districts have a much lower ADA in proportion to total enrollment. Another element of the state aid formula is the number of standard instructional units in each school: instructional units found to be standard are certified and may be counted toward state aid; those that are substandard are not, and activities in such units must be paid entirely by local funds. City systems are at a disadvantage because their facilities are frequently old and deteriorated, making preventive maintenance costly; it is therefore difficult to adequately maintain instructional units in standard and thereby aid-eligible condition. Thus, in many states there is an inherent bias against city school districts, based upon factors which cannot easily be remedied by these districts under present circumstances.

During the last 25 years, desegregation has been one of the more controversial issues in public education. The courts have struck down *de jure* segregation and have in certain instances dictated methods of mixing, such as busing, to achieve predetermined racial ratios. The intent of desegregation, however, has become less clear and civil rights lawyers, their clients and progressive whites and blacks have split over the extent of and reasons for the desegregation of schools. Neither blacks nor whites are strongly determined to break the city-suburban barriers, which further reinforces and sustains racial isolation. The effects of isolation over time on both black and white children will "make subsequent integration increasingly more difficult" (Pettigrew, 1975, p. 237). In a 1972 Harris poll, although convinced that their children could only get a quality education through desegregation, only 52 percent of the blacks polled favored busing to achieve racial balance (St. Johns, 1975, p. 130). Increasingly, blacks are concerned not so much with mixing of the races but rather with the quality of education available; they view desegregation as a *means*, not an end, one of many tools to be used to achieve quality education.

According to St. John desegregation of public schools should benefit children under the following conditions:

1. Desegregation, as a symbol of equality affirmed and powerlessness denied, should increase black sense of control and white appreciation of democracy, *provided* it is achieved through individual or community self-determination and is freely chosen by the families involved, and provided black parents share in the control of such policies.
2. Desegregation should reduce stigma and enhance the self-esteem of black pupils *provided* that it is to a school of higher status and provided they are not placed in low-status programs or classes in the new school.
3. Desegregation, by reducing a sense of deprivation relative to pupils in other schools, should raise the morale of black pupils, *provided* they do not feel deprived in relation to majority white pupils in the new school.
4. Desegregation may raise the expectations of significant others, thereby the motivation of black pupils, *provided* such expectations are from staff as well as parents, for those whose initial performance is low as well as high, and for white and black students alike.
5. Desegregation brings association with peers from whom favorable norms may be acquired, *provided* racial desegregation means social class desegregation and does not result in official or unofficial within-school segregation.
6. Desegregation brings interracial contact which may reduce prejudice, *provided* it is continued over a number of years, *provided* it is equal status and noncompetitive, and *provided* that the school administration offers firm leadership (St. John, 1975, pp. 107-8).

But the impact of desegregation can easily be negative:

1. Desegregation inevitably places some pupils in a minority group situation which may induce anxiety, *unless* both tokenism and rapid influx is avoided and *unless* the staff is firm and skillful in protecting whichever race is in the minority.

> 2. Desegregation exposes minority group pupils to cultural marginality and confusion as to their own identity, *unless* the staff is interracial, *unless* the curriculum recognizes the minority-group culture, and *unless* there is opportunity for choice between assimilation and pluralism.
>
> 3. Desegregation allows self-evaluation against academic standards that may in some cases discourage motivation, *unless* help is available, competition is avoided, and instruction and evaluation are individualized (St. John, 1975, pp. 107-8).

A common perception is that desegregation of public schools causes white flight, further reducing revenue sources and increasing racial isolation. A recent study of 86 Northern school districts, however, does not find a long-term relationship between white flight and school desegregation. The study found that:

> any loss of whites occurs *before* school opens in the first year of the (desegregation) plan. After that, white flight stabilizes to a rate slightly better than the predesegregation period. Therefore, white flight, if it occurs at all, occurs not from the problems experienced during the first year of desegregation, but from the fear of problems. In other words, if whites leave, it is typically not because they participated in the plan and did not like it, but because they refused to participate at all (Rossell, 1975, pp. 683-84).

Rossell reported the effect of school desegregation as minimal when compared to other forces such as increased crime, rapid movement of jobs to suburban facilities, the decline in the level of some city services and the deterioration of city schools (p. 688).

The conclusion argues for metropolitan school desegregation:

> It would be extremely difficult to implement stable housing integration involving a large number of blacks, without a framework of area-wide integrated schools. Once blacks begin to move into a particular area, that area tends to become increasingly more black unless new white families move in to replace those who leave . . . Under the existing laissez-faire system, however, there is absolutely no incentive for a white family to move into a neighborhood with a substantial number of black neighbors because, based on past experiences, the neighborhood school will in all probability become predominantly black in the future. . . . Therefore, without a desegregation plan, the white family often does not perceive a choice between an all-white school and one that is almost certain to become virtually all black. The only way to break this cycle of expectations is to assure families that the schools will be integrated wherever they move in the city (p. 689).

Part III: Agents of Change — The Education System

Changes in the public educational system have various effects upon, and are subsequently affected by, the providers, clients and suppliers of education, whose characteristics vary widely among local jurisdictions.

Those districts with lower-income residents, who usually have less educational attainment and little opportunity to participate in the power structure of the jurisdiction, are necessarily at a disadvantage in terms of providing educational opportunities. In *The Urban School: A Factory of Failure* (1973), Ray Rist outlines three explanations as to why lower-income students — both black and white — have not shown substantial progress in the last 25 years since *de jure* segregation has been voided. The three explanations include:

> - The culture of poverty, in which the child fails because negative environmental obstacles and circumstances are too overpowering to overcome.
> - Genetic differences among races.
> - The perpetuation of inequality by the educational system (p. 17).

Rist (1973) explains that proponents of the first two traditional theories:

> avoid any analysis of the school systems themselves and by default consent to the myth that schools are egalitarian, classless, humane institutions interested in the individual children (p. 7).

According to the third explanation, advanced recently by Rist and others:

> Schools appear to be deliberately organized so as to persist in implementing policies and practices that each year create a continual stream of losers . . . regardless of rhetoric, the schools serve as sorting mechanisms which legitimate the present structure in American society . . . by failing to provide the conditions in which children might overcome the inequalities imposed on them, the schools insure that the status quo is preserved (pp. 14-15).

The schools, then, are serving only a portion of their clients. They accomplish this differentiation by "defining the learning situation in a certain fashion and rewarding some forms of behavior and performance to the exclusion of others" (Rist, 1973, pp. 14-18).

This theory, which places significant responsibility for the success or failure of individual students on the education system, has been buttressed by various studies. Coleman (1966) in his *Equality of Educational Opportunity Report* found that the minority students involved in his study had:

> a serious educational deficiency at the start of school, which is obviously not a result of school, and an even more serious deficiency at the end of school, which is obviously in part a result of school (Smiley, 1968, p. 445).

Public education reform efforts to date have had limited success. One reason cited by Christopher Jencks (1972) is that:

> reformers have very little control over those aspects of school life that affect children. Reallocating resources, reassigning pupils and rewriting the curriculum seldom change the way teachers and students actually treat each other (pp. 255-56).

Equality of opportunity will not be present without more equality of conditions or input (Levine, 1975, p. 28). But Jencks' (1972) comment speaks to the most fundamental issue in the supply function to education: racism in our society. As is often the case, the difference in our society between the realities and achievements that affect education is great, and racism is a key element in that difference.

> The one big problem we must face is racism. The aspiration is democracy and equality, the reality is racism and poverty; the aspiration is dispersal, the reality is concentration; the aspiration is power, the reality is powerlessness. We mentioned segregation and integration. It seems . . . these are mere symptoms of this disease — racism. Integration corrects the symptom — segregation. It does nothing toward eliminating racism (Campbell, 1969, p. 27).

Segregation has been specifically implicated in the failure of urban schools:

> We see the school as the main weapon to be used in improving the life chances of children born to inadequate families, but we see the effectiveness of the school cut down through the existence of economic and racial segregation in our big cities (Harrington, 1962, p. 78).

Yet the opportunities of gaining positive benefit from exposure to, and interacting with, other races and ethnic groups in the public education system are decreasing rather than increasing because of increased residential segregation.

The relationship between integration and improved performance for lower-income black students has been both supported and refuted. There appears to be some substance to the contention that the mixing of students from different economic levels is of benefit to the children of the lower-economic level as long as the percentage of lower-income students does not exceed the "tipping point," an undefinable point at which upper-income students leave the school due to the mixed environment. Citing again the Coleman Report (1966), low-income black students in largely middle-class schools were almost 20 months ahead of low-income students in largely low-income schools (Rist, 1973, pp. 14-18).

To the extent that the schools are not meeting their responsibilities, one convincing explanation is that the education system has not kept up with the changes that face it:

> Over the last two decades, we have witnessed extensive changes in the composition of our urban population . . . of the new families many are first-generation urban dwellers, and a large proportion of these are still rurally oriented; their cultural traditions differ significantly from the standard middle-class values embedded in city school systems and professed by teachers and school administrators (Gittell, p. 3).

Differing perspectives on public school desegregation which have implications for the education system's methods and policies include:

- Desegregation is a goal to be achieved at any cost.
- The school is to be defined solely as an education institution, and the solutions to community isolation are the concern of other community institutions.
- Schools have a responsibility to all, including minority clients, and share the community's responsibility for the reduction of isolation (Smiley, 1968, pp. 281-86).

There are many proposed and functioning techniques for desegregating schools, including redistricting, pairing, majority-to-minority transfers and new construction. The flaws in these plans are readily apparent. All assume the education process is persuasive enough to affect the community's attitudes toward adopting and implementing fuller desegregation policies and programs and that achieving a certain proportion of black and white students in a school system will somehow, by itself, impart integration and equality of education to all students. As the previous discussion has indicated, desegregation of a school is but one element toward integration of the classroom.

The limitations of the present education system for reducing isolation are due to the fact that it has not only operational, but structural deficiencies as well. The more pressing problems that need to be dealt with in the education system include:

- The accountability of the school to clients.
- Conformity versus innovation.
- Participation by students, parents and the community in educational decision making.
- The inefficient use of school resources.
- The discrepancy between the stated goals and the actual practices of schools.
- Isolation of the school from the community.
- Inadequate special and compensatory programs (Fantini, 1970, pp. 8-12).

Perhaps the single most important obstacle is that *nothing is more political than education*. The process must be realized for what it is:

> Whether minorities realize it or not, when they seek quality education they are asking for social, psychological and economic equality as well, and such demands are wholly political. The politics of education are intense at all levels of government . . . *politics is the art of allocating* resources; and, in today's world, education serves the function of sorting individuals into two camps, the haves and the have nots. Even though education is not the only route out of this category, it appears, at least for minorities, the most viable and promising . . . (Brown, 1975, p. 252, 256).

Agents of Change – The Courts

Judicial response to the causes of *de facto* educational segregation has been slow because of the far-reaching implications of structural changes in American society that would be necessary. However, over the past 30 years there have been various court decisions that have attempted to approach the issues of isolation. A few have been chosen for discussion here.

One of the first modern cases to use the 1866 Civil Rights Act was *Jones v. Mayer Company* (392 U.S. 409, 1967) involving a real estate broker who refused to sell a home to a qualified black family. The case, in effect, was to determine the scope and constitutionality of the 1866 act, which provides that:

> All citizens of the United States shall have the same right, in every state and territory, as is enjoyed by white citizens thereof to inherit, purchase, lease, sell, hold and convey real and personal property (392 U.S. 412, 1967).

The U.S. Supreme Court held that the 1866 act "bars all racial discrimination, private as well as public, in the sale or rental of property" (392 U.S. 413, 1967). The Supreme Court then ordered that the sale of the home be consummated if the black family was otherwise qualified.

In this judgment, the Supreme Court spoke to the fundamental issue of states' rights and federal intervention by remarking:

> If Congress has power under the Thirteenth Amendment to eradicate conditions that prevent Negroes from buying and renting property because of their race or color, then no federal statute calculated to achieve that objective can be thought to exceed the constitutional power of Congress simply because it reaches *beyond* (emphasis added) state action to regulate the conduct of private individuals (392 U.S. 438-39, 1967).

The issue of the scope of a state's legislative rights was further debated in *Reitman v. Mulkey* (87 S. Ct. 1627, 1967). An article in the California Constitution gave homeowners the right to refuse to sell their property to a buyer and assured the owner there would be no intervention by a state or local agency.

The California Supreme Court labeled the intent of this section to "authorize private racial discrimination in the housing market . . . and to create a constitutional right to discriminate on racial grounds in the sale and leasing of real property (87 S. Ct. 1631, 1967). The U.S. Supreme Court upheld the state court on the grounds that "the section would encourage and significantly involve the state in private racial discrimination contrary to the Fourteenth Amendment" (87 S. Ct. 1632, 1967).

In the area of housing and zoning, states' rights are also of primary consideration, although the states in many cases are pitted against the scope of local jurisdictions' rights. One of the more important zoning cases to be heard in recent years was *Southern Burlington County NAACP v. Township of Mount Laurel* (336 A.2d 713, 1975). The question brought before the New Jersey Supreme Court was:

> whether a *developing* (emphasis added) municipality like Mount Laurel may validly, by a system of land-use regulations, make it physically and economically impossible to provide low- and moderate-income housing in the municipality (*American Planning Law*, Vol. 3, Chap. 66, p. 4).

The court found that:

> over the years Mount Laurel "has acted affirmatively to control development and to attract a *selective* (emphasis added) type of growth." [This has caused] the city "through its zoning ordinances to exhibit economic discrimination in that the poor have been deprived of adequate housing . . . and [the city] has used federal, state, county and local finances and resources solely for the betterment of middle- and upper-income persons."
> There cannot be the slightest doubt that the reason for this course of conduct has been to keep down local taxes on *property* . . . and that the policy was carried out without regard for nonfiscal considerations with respect to *people* (336 A.2d 723, 1975).

A fundamental aspect of the argument to the court was a definition of the general welfare and the determination as to whether external welfares were the concern of Mount Laurel:

> the universal and constant need for [low- and moderate-income housing] is so important and of such broad public interest that the general welfare which developing municipalities like Mount Laurel must consider extends beyond their boundaries and cannot be parochially confined to the claimed good of the particular municipality. . . . When regulation does have a substantial external impact, the welfare of the state's citizens beyond the borders of the particular municipality must be recognized and served (emphasis added) (*American Planning Law*, Vol. 3, Chap. 66, pp. 10-11).

The state court found that Mount Laurel must amend selected sections of its housing ordinance to:

> make realistically possible the opportunity for an appropriate variety and choice of housing for all categories of people who may desire to live there . . . [Furthermore,] when a municipality zones for industry and commerce for local tax benefit purposes, it without question must zone to permit adequate housing within the means of the employees involved in such uses (336 A.2d, 731-32, 1975).

The court's standard for an appropriate proportion of lower- and moderate-income housing to be provided was a municipality's fair share of the present and prospective requirement need therefore" (336 A.2d 732, 1975), a definition of which was to be developed by Mount Laurel, county and state planning officials.

Several recent cases have been brought against the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) for its participation in the racial concentration of federally assisted housing. One of the first was *Shannon v. U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development* (436 F.2d 809, 1970), which tested HUD's site-selection criteria for a moderate-income housing project. HUD held public hearings on the redevelopment projects to take place within the urban renewal area but then revised the plan to include a rent-supplement apartment project. Residents and merchants in the area brought suit on the grounds that the 221(d)3 project would increase the already high concentration of blacks in the renewal area. The court found that:

> The essential procedural complaint presented on appeal is that in reviewing and approving this type of project for the site chosen, HUD had no procedures for consideration of and in fact did not consider its effect on racial concentration in that neighborhood or in the city of Philadelphia as a whole (436 F.2d 812, 1970).

The HUD manual was found to define public housing in areas of racial concentration as unacceptable. The regulations guiding the 221(d)3 assisted housing made no mention of such concentration, yet concentration of assisted housing could lead to the same racially segregated patterns as characterized public housing.

The Court of Appeals suggested to HUD a list of 11 questions that should be taken into consideration in selecting sites and in determining whether or not sites selected were consistent with the 1964 and 1968 Civil Rights Acts, and remanded the case to the district court for further HUD study.

Perhaps the most important public housing case to be heard recently was *Hills v. Gautreaux* (96 S. Ct. 1538, 1976). Black tenants in public housing operated by the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) sued the CHA for selecting public housing sites exclusively within the central city, leading to concentration of blacks in the city and reducing their opportunities to live in suburban integrated neighborhoods. HUD was later added as a party to the suit. In Federal District Court (363 F.Supp. 690, 1973) both agencies were ordered to take corrective actions *within* the city of Chicago only. The case was then heard by the Court of Appeals (503 F.2d 930, 1974), which reversed the District Court decision and remanded that further investigation and study of a metropolitan area plan for public housing location be considered. The question before the U.S. Supreme Court was whether the trial court order could extend beyond Chicago's "territorial boundaries" (96 S Ct. 1544, 1976).

Arguments in this case were based largely upon the *Milliken* decision. The Supreme Court found that:

> Nothing in the *Milliken* decision suggests a *per se* rule that federal courts lack authority to order parties found to have violated the Constitution to undertake remedial efforts beyond the municipal boundaries of the city where the violation occurred . . . in this case, it is entirely appropriate and consistent with *Milliken* to order CHA and HUD to attempt to create housing alternatives for the respondents in the Chicago suburbs. Here the wrong committed by HUD confined the respondents to segregated public housing. The relevant geographic area for purposes of the respondents' housing options is the Chicago housing market, not the Chicago city limits (96 S. Ct. 1547, 1550, 1976).

The Supreme Court did not, however, require a metropolitan order but remanded the matter to the district court. A companion case now before the Supreme Court will review the housing plans submitted by HUD and the CHA for the dispersion of the authority's public housing.

A recent case that is bound to influence future local government fiscal requests is city of *Hartford v. Hills* (408 F.Supp. 889, 1975). The city of Hartford, Connecticut, filed suit against HUD and seven suburban towns, charging that they had not fulfilled the requirements of the Housing and Community Development Act (HCD) of 1974, the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1968 Fair Housing Act, and that "HUD contravened Title VIII of the 1968 (Fair Housing) Act by failing to affirmatively administer the community development program in order to expand low- and moderate-income housing" (408 F.Supp. 890, 1975).

Title I of the HCD Act of 1974 consolidated 10 categorical grant programs, both for physical facilities and public works, into one block grant program with the objective of developing viable urban communities by providing decent housing, a suitable living environment and expanding economic opportunities, principally for persons of low and moderate income" (408 F.Supp. 898, 1975). To give this broad objective specific aims, Congress established seven specific goals, one of which was "concerned with reducing the isolation of income groups within communities and geographical areas and the promotion of an increase in the diversity and vitality of neighborhoods through the spatial deconcentration of housing opportunities for persons of lower income" (408 F.Supp. 898, 1975).

This goal was to be partially achieved through the act's Housing Assistance Plan (HAP), a survey of a community's housing stock and an assessment of its housing needs, a goal for the provision of assisted housing, and a description of the location of existing and proposed lower-income housing. HUD disregarded the HAP statute and approved grants to the suburban towns without requiring completion of the HAP section which requires a community to estimate the housing needs of low-income persons "expected to reside" within its boundaries.

The circuit court commented that the 'expected to reside' figure is the keystone to the spatial deconcentration objective of the 1974 act which:

> for the first time ties the provision of community-development funds to the provision of lower-income housing. To receive community-development funding, a locality must address its need for lower-income housing (408 F.Supp. 901-2, 1975).

A permanent injunction was issued to stop the seven towns from drawing on their community-development monies; the towns were told they could, if they chose, resubmit full application requests for community development funds. HUD was found to have failed in its "duty to do more than accept any 'expected to reside' figure proposed . . . however inadequate its size or derivation" (408 F.Supp. 907, 1975).

The case is on appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Agents of Change – Local Government

While much of the funding, regulations and policies of government are done by the federal government, most program implementation has been left to local government because of the inherent strength of and public bias toward local autonomy over local decisions. This emphasis on local decision making in issues affecting desegregation is evident in the lack of a successful federal housing policy or a national land-use plan. Development in the urban areas of the United States has been described as unplanned and chaotic but it is also possible that "economically, politically and socially, American urban development occurs in a systematic, highly predictable manner (leading to) precisely the results desired by those who dominate it" (Downs, 1973, p. 1).

Local government is an economic, social, racial and political mixture of city, suburban, rural, special-district and private interests vying for limited resources and maximizing their efficiencies under constraints particular to each. Although the differences among various local governments have been accentuated, especially between the central cities and their surrounding suburban areas, there is a kinship among all jurisdictions. This kinship is based, unfortunately, upon problems and crises that cities and suburbs are finding in common: "while the central cities have been visibly undergoing a process of declining, the suburbs too have been suffering . . . from a process of growth that has been too rapid and too poorly controlled" (Haar, 1972, p. 1).

To better understand the circumstances in which educational services are carried out on the local level, a brief summary of the local political power structure, including federal, state, city, county and special-district governments, follows. Special districts are emphasized because they have proven in some instances to be a successful alternative to consolidation and annexation. Further, most public education is carried out through such independent districts and a special-district form of governance could serve as a primary element in the successful implementation of social integration.

Local government in America has moved from state domination to municipal control to a municipal, county and state admixture with various encouragements from the federal carrot basket.

Concurrent to this evolution, the suburb is fast replacing the city as the location for new residential, commercial and industrial development. Although suburban communities often contain the same range of functions as the city, their control is fragmented between many political jurisdictions. Because of a heavy reliance upon the property tax, intergovernmental competition for taxable items has recently become quite pronounced and has led to wide disparity between suburban localities. Additionally, all have attempted to exclude or at least minimize tax burdens created by populations like school-aged children, the poor and the elderly, resulting in relatively homogeneous communities (Hughes, 1974, p. 14).

Difficulties in financing suburban services have been caused by conditions accompanying the dispersion and fragmentation of people and governmental units, including the rapid and extreme change of suburbanization and the acceleration of tax rates to provide services; the costly nature of suburban development due to low density; and the considerable variation among suburban areas in their preparation for, and fiscal ability to manage, explosive growth (Netzer, 1974a, pp. 60-64). As mentioned previously, this last factor tends to polarize local communities and is a primary obstacle to area-wide planning (ACIR, 1963b, p. 223).

The serious ramifications of these disparities was voiced in hearings conducted when federal revenue sharing was first proposed:

> differentials in property tax base per capita . . . within metropolitan areas are very large ones. . . . Such wide variations in taxable capacity have two kinds of effects. . . . First, they permit individual communities within an urban area to offer public services which differ greatly in scope and quantity. . . . It is not . . . easy to be complacent about wide variations in the quality of those public ser-

> vices which are basic to the future well-being of metropolitan areas.
>
> Second, although rich communities generally spend more than poorer ones, in most cases they do not spend as much more as their superior tax bases would permit. The result generally is that the rich communities have lower tax rates than do their poorer neighbors. This is often observed in aggravated form in connection with small communities with extensive concentrations of business property. The public-service requirements of the business property are low, but it can yield very large amounts of tax revenue. The consequence is an extremely low tax rate. This . . . encourages economic activity to locate in low-tax jurisdictions, which may or may not be the optimal locations for particular forms of economic activity (and) *encourages communities to plan land use for fiscal advantage, rather than on the basis of broader considerations* (emphasis added) (Netzer, 1974b, pp. 176-77).

As might have been foreseen, what was once considered escape from the central city's ills is evolving into a structure beginning to feel some of the very same symptoms. To artificially maintain the separation of the resources of city and suburb is to retreat from reality.

There are many elements that fragment and subdivide a region, often reducing the desire and ability to coordinate intergovernmental efforts of improved services and efficiency, but more than any other type of arrangement . . . suburbanism regulates distance and closeness among groups by its inherent ability to minimize social variation within communities and *maximize* differences among them (emphasis added) (Haar, 1972, p. 17).

One product of explosive suburban growth has been the special district. Although the concept brings to mind fragmentation and added taxes, the special district has met and continues to meet the demands of a great many communities. Its increase in popularity may be attributed to its flexibility and the fact that special-district legislation is usually more politically acceptable than such approaches as consolidation or annexation, since the creation of such districts does not threaten existing governmental units. Other advantages are that special districts can be formed as a response to inadequate services with a broad base free of local government entanglements, and that creation of special districts often enables communities to evade state-imposed debt and tax limitations and local government (Schwartz, 1976, p. 331). As evidence of this popularity almost 30 percent of all local governments in 1972 were special districts.

State enabling legislation has not required special districts to meet three standards usually associated with local governments — minimum-assessed valuation, territorial size and population. States have also given special districts wide latitude in regard to geographic territory by usually requiring only that they be compact and contiguous. As already noted, the boundaries of special districts are not determined by existing local governments, but rather by the needs of the residents they serve. In 1972, 75 percent of special districts within SMSA's were noncoterminous with other local governmental units. With this geographic freedom, the boundaries of special districts are easily lost or confused, particularly when a pyramid of several such districts is found in an area:

> In this sense many special districts are phantom governments. . . . Their phantom-like quality does not diminish their collective and sometimes individual importance. It merely increases the difficulty of comprehending a class of governments which is of rising significance (Bollens, 1957, pp. 30-31).

Special districts may add to the tax burdens of area residents. They are designed for single- and multifunction rather than administrative services, including fire protection, highways, health, housing and urban renewal, natural resources, recreation areas, sewerage and utilities; but in 1972, 97 percent of all special districts in SMSA's were single-function, leading to competition for the individual's tax dollar. It has been calculated that property tax and intergovernmental transfers account for about 25 percent of nonschool special-district funds, with 75 percent coming from service charges, special assessments, rates and rents.

Special districts are also criticized for their piecemeal approach to the problems of government, and growth of fragmented authority, that makes it difficult for the various separate district administrators to know what others are doing; they are not usually directly responsible to the voters of the jurisdiction nor does the one-man, one-vote principle necessarily apply to them (ACIR 1963a, p. 4); and procedures for their future dissolution are either complicated or nonexistent in many states (Bollens, 1957, p. 20).

Despite their disadvantages special districts are expanding due to the inability of counties to undertake expanded sources:

> Suitable to the needs of a rural rather than an urban society constitutional provisions (in the 19th century) have so fossilized county governmental structures and perpetuated archaic county offices that the county is ill-adapted to serve as a vehicle for metropolitan solutions. . . . The very obsolescence of the county organization precludes the claim that districts usurp their functions, since most districts are established to perform municipal, or proprietary, services that are not traditionally within the province of the county (Pock, 1962, pp. 38-39).

Three major categories of special districts should be mentioned in this context: coterminous districts, metropolitan districts and urban-fringe districts.

Coterminous districts are the most readily identifiable of special districts because their boundaries coincide with those of existing county or municipal jurisdictions; housing authorities and school districts are the most common examples.

A metropolitan district is a special district whose boundaries are more or less the same as those of the metropolitan area. The important criterion for a metropolitan district is that it provides service to a major portion of the metropolitan area, both the central city and some, if not all, of the suburbs. There are several functioning examples of metropolitan districts which are broadbased and include diverse populations. The Metropolitan District Commission of Boston, the Delaware River Basin Commission, the Tahoe Regional Planning Agencies and the Port of New York Authority are but a few. Although metropolitan districts could effectively coordinate provision of most or all services in the metropolitan area, most have served a single function and show no inclination to expand (Pock, 1962, p. 79). This may be attributed to the fact that formation of a new special district is easier than changing an existing one in many states.

Another important cause of this single-function approach is the:

> absence of a comprehensive and consistent legislative policy towards the multifunctional metropolitan district or, to be more precise, to the preponderance of a legislative policy favoring ad hoc solutions to the metropolitan problem (Pock, 1962, p. 84).

From a planning point of view, the metropolitan district has a significant shortcoming in that it usually is not subject to municipal or county planning department policies, but is, rather, on a scale similar to regional planning commissions, which historically have been either advisory-only or subservient to local planning jurisdictions and their policies (Pock, 1962, p. 107).

Urban-"fringe districts" are those located at the extreme boundaries of urbanized areas where pressures of growth demand action but where there is no adequate governmental structure present to provide it. The potential and necessity of multipurpose urban-fringe districts is great, both because more and more people are moving to rural areas near urban centers and because great service needs currently exist there. The purpose of these multipurpose districts is to govern according to function, on a broad base; they are, therefore, somewhat like junior cities (Bollens, 1957, pp. 106-7).

South Carolina has had legislation since 1928 allowing such junior cities, legally known as public-service districts. Their functions may include fire protection, sewage disposal, sanitary regulation, drainage, street lighting, street cleaning, garbage collection and disposal, water supply and recreation. They can also levy taxes, collect service or user charges and issue bonds after voter approval (Bollens, 1957, p. 108).

In general, the special-district mechanism has been utilized to provide service functions to homogeneous groups of people, but it has the capacity to serve far greater ends. Because of geographic flexibility, special districts can be used as instruments of horizontal integration of services and functions across conventionally defined jurisdictions. Joint ownership and control of a project creates a more permanent sense to the projects, as well as putting the governments on a more-or-less equal footing, which is not the case in the traditional service contractor or supplier-buyer relationship (Bollens, 1957, p. 8). To date, this wider application has been largely ignored because of social, racial, political and economic considerations, and fear of the unknown.

Perhaps the greatest challenge facing

special districts is that of broadening the available methods of finance so that emphasis will be placed on a balanced program of long-range capital improvements benefits, rather than on relatively short-term, income-producing solutions to local problems.

State and federal aid are significant factors in this increased fiscal base. Aid to local governments and cities from these sources has dramatically increased as urban problems have intensified and as suburban growth has outstripped the provision of adequate services. In 1942, state and federal aid composed 14 percent of the total revenues of cities; by 1972 this figure had risen to 33 percent. In the city of Baltimore, 52 percent of the total expenditures came from state and federal aid in 1970, with other large cities showing similar percentages (Pettengill, 1974, p. 73, 118).

Because of this increased share of aid state and federal governments:

> are concerned with achieving maximum results from resources they invest. . . . Consequently, they will be desirous of assuming that their programs do not encourage the growth, sustenance, and performance of urban services at jurisdictional levels or on scales which are ineffective and uneconomical (ACIR, 1963b, p. 4).

That concern cannot be met until there is more coordination of the various divisions of power at the metropolitan level.

This lack of a coordinative metropolitan level of governance is a primary factor in metropolitan isolation, because it significantly limits opportunities for effective and efficient income redistribution:

> In reality, the fiscal systems of the large metropolitan areas produce almost no redistribution between the central city poor and suburban rich . . . given the fragmentation and the disparities (of local governments). . . . If the poor are concentrated in already high-tax communities, redistributive services can be more amply supported only by taxing the poor more heavily, a self-defeating proposition; the resources of the rich belong to other jurisdictions, those with minor needs for redistributive services. . . . Nonredistributive services with heavy spill-overs are likely to be undernourished simply because . . . the benefits cannot be appropriated by the communities which individually tax themselves for the service. And although all would benefit from a broader base for financing such services, the well-off communities resist nonetheless since they cannot be sure that a breach in the existing pattern will not become a much wider assault on their advantageous positions (Perloff, 1968, pp. 443-44).

Residential desegregation is not necessary, however, to reduce greatly the economic and social disparities in the metropolitan area:

> Substantial progress would be achieved by replacing the typical housing pattern . . . of a large ghetto surrounded by better-quality housing with a checkerboard arrangement of white and black communities — as long as some of the black squares were located outside of central cities. The elimination of the central-city ghetto even without integration would greatly reduce housing inequities for blacks, transportation costs for blacks and whites, fiscal distortions in central cities and the social costs of concentrations of low-income citizens (Harrison, 1974b, p. 189).

The fundamental stumbling blocks to redistribution of resources between city and suburb are artificial political boundaries and the method of financing services:

> As long as public services, schools and poverty services are primarily financed at the local level, it will continue to be in the interest of affluent suburbs to devise means of closing their borders to minorities and low-income families. But the rational policy for *individual* suburbs has disastrous consequences for metropolitan areas as a *whole* (emphasis added).
>
> In structuring incentives to make suburban residence accessible to blacks, virtually anything which reduces or eliminates the role of property taxation as a device for income transfer would be a step in the right direction (Harrison, 1974b, p. 191).

Service districts and other cooperative arrangements which result in some redistribution of fiscal resources and more equitable provision of services in the metropolitan area represent movement in the direction of reducing metropolitan isolation.

Agents of Change – Open Housing

Today's housing patterns are the result of a combination of social, economic and governmental policies and actions that began with the industrial revolution and have accelerated during the last 60 years. The issue of open housing has caused many white champions of school desegregation to modify or even refute their support:

> In the United States, the majority group has sought to compartmentalize by gradually and grudgingly giving and imputing equality to minority peoples in the fields of education and employment. The granting of equality of opportunity in these fields, indeed, did not require the majority group to impute equality to the total or whole personalities of minority group members. Fair housing will make it impossible for this condition of compartmentalized equality and inequality to continue (Berry, 1976, p. 250).

Past housing programs have avoided the issue of complete equality for blacks by attempting to rehabilitate obsolete, deteriorated dwellings in economically depressed central city areas. A common but false assumption of most of these programs is that because "the problems of race and poverty are found in the ghettos of urban America, the solutions to these problems must also be found there. These ghetto-oriented programs largely ignore the geographic distribution of resources throughout the metropolitan regions" (Davidoff, 1970, p. 13).

Prior to 1950, the attitude of the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) toward hopeful black suburban home buyers was one of overt discrimination and bias:

> From 1935 to 1950, the federal government insisted upon discriminatory practices as a prerequisite to government housing aid. The FHA's official manuals cautioned against "infiltration of inharmonious racial and national groups," a "lower class of inhabitants," or the "presence of incompatible racial elements" in the new neighborhoods. . . . Zoning was advocated as a device for exclusion, and the use of a racial covenant (prepared by the FHA itself) was urged (Gouldner, 1963, p. 143).

Since the FHA was involved in over 29 percent of the almost 11 million new housing units constructed during that 15-year period (peaking at 45 percent of all new units between 1940 and 1944), the discriminatory practices employed by the federal government had a significant róle in excluding blacks from the opportunities of suburban housing and establishing the pattern by which future generations of blacks would be discriminated against in suburban housing markets (HUD, 1975a, p. 117).

The reasons for housing discrimination are complex. A 350-year history of racism, fear and misunderstanding contributes to negative attitudes. The following passage explains residential preferences, particularly whites' preferences, in terms of status and symbols:

> Residents can manipulate the symbols of home and neighborhood to augment their own status . . . they can do little, however, to prevent others, whom they might consider of lower status, from manipulating residential status symbols in the same way and thereby claiming status equality. (As an example), white residents of Chicago's Garfield Ridge community tolerated the presence of a large black population while it was confined to the nearby LeClaire Courts public housing project; the stigma of residence in public housing is so pervasive that it would be clear to all that any black person in the area was a public housing tenant and thereby not of equal status. White opposition became intense, however, as soon as blacks purchased homes in the neighborhood and thus claimed equal status with whites on the basis of the immutable symbolism of equal property ownership (Berry, 1976, p. 253).

The problems in achieving open housing stem from three fundamental factors: acquisition of land, financing and marketing. These factors are affected by public and private agencies and individuals including the federal government, state and local government, real estate brokers, lending institutions and suburban residents.

Federal, state and local governments are the primary providers of publicly assisted housing, with the federal government supplying most of the funding for such housing. Although the federal housing programs affecting lower- and middle-income families (public housing, sections 235, 236, 221 and 202) receive the most publicity, a much greater number of American home buyers receive public benefits in housing. Loans secured through the Veterans' Administration (VA) and the FHA, and tax deductions on federal income tax are all forms of federal housing assistance to middle- and upper-income residents which do not carry the same "handout" stigma or charges of governmental interference as does federal housing assistance for lower-income residents.

In 1972, the direct and indirect costs of federal intervention in the housing market totaled over $15 billion, with about half expended on programs for lower-income persons. These costs are summarized in the following table.

Table 9
Costs of Federal Intervention in the Housing Market, 1972*

Program or Policy	Cost in 1972 (in billions)
Homeowners' deduction	$6.2
Federal subsidized housing programs	2.5
Federal welfare-assistance payments for housing	2.6
Other taxes foregone including capital gains on home sales	4.0

*HUD, 1974, p. 33

In 1970, nearly 63 percent of the over 63.4 million occupied dwelling units in the United States were owner-occupied. The median sales price of new one-family homes, however, rose from $23,500 in 1970 to $35,900 in 1974 (HUD, 1975a, p. 250), making it much more difficult for families to own their homes. Based upon current practice, a family would need an annual income between $15,000 to $18,000 to purchase a home selling for $39,900, and, in 1974, less than 40 percent of all families in the United States had such an income. By race, 42 percent of white families earned $15,000 and over, while only 22 percent of black families earned as much.

The expansion of public power has increased the opportunity of equality but at the same time offers an instrument of abuse and discrimination to those who seek it. Land-use controls such as zoning and building codes have become two of the most widely used, and abused, of such public instruments with disastrous results:

> Since most states provide little guidance to their local subdivisions in the area of land-use control, (the) general objectives (of zoning) tend to be interpreted in the light of local interests. In the typical suburb, the power to zone becomes a mandate to exclude land uses which threaten community character, property values or the fiscal well-being of the locality (Danielson, 1976, p. 51).

In recent years, area-wide councils and planning agencies have been established by many states in an attempt to deal with regional issues on the local level. Such councils and agencies, however, have tried to remove themselves from controversial issues such as open housing and desegregation to maintain a "fragile" consensus (Danielson, 1976, p. 246). Furthermore, many board members of such organizations have allegiances to local government which oftentimes supercede their regional commitments.

Real estate brokers have received both blame and praise for the lack of success of open housing. Whites blame brokers for blockbusting, yet thank them when blacks are shown homes in other areas. Blacks charge that real estate agents steer them into segregated neighborhoods or transitional areas that rapidly will become all-black. Brokers often claim that their actions are based on community norms and attitudes, and on the "real" economic issue of residential "mixing" resulting in lower values.

But study indicates that there is no such clear-cut outcome:

> The effect of Negro occupancy upon property values varies from one section of the city to another. . . . The arrival of a few Negroes may be the signal for a great decline in selling prices or it may lead to an appreciable increase. Much depends upon the state of the total housing market and the manner in which (blacks) enter an area. . . . *There is no one universal effect of Negro occupancy upon property values* (McEntire, 1960, p. 160).

The situational factors that do seem to influence real estate brokers in the operation of their business are the lending agency, the community and particular sources of profit. Based "primarily on the idea of risks and the safety of the investment" and often upon incomplete or inaccurate information, lending agencies' policies have historically all but excluded transitional central city residential areas from loan commitments and, instead, favored the expanding and "safer" suburban housing markets (McEntire, 1960, p. 166). Developers have not been able to construct suburban black subdivisions without paying more for the money and oftentimes the higher interest rate or points required would take all of the developer's profits, effectively cancelling the project (pp. 190-92).

But the most important factor in open housing in suburban areas is acceptance of blacks by the predominantly white residents already there:

> Characteristic of many changing neighborhoods is a falling standard of institutional services and facilities. Most crucial of these, in middle-class neighborhoods, is the school. The families who are most liberal on the racial issues are also apt to place a high value

> on education of their children. Although they may have no reluctance to living in a mixed neighborhood . . . if an influx of deprived children lowers the quality of the school, (the whites) will be pressed to leave. What matters ultimately . . . is how home buyers or renters evaluate the prospects of a neighborhood. Unless a neighborhood can attract a continuing inflow of white home seekers, it must tend inevitably to become a minority district in the course of normal turnover (McEntire, 1960, pp. 82-83, 85).

The policies and efforts of government and private organizations are determined by the perceptions and desires of those bodies' members. It has been found that upper- and middle-income residents associate additional public costs, and hence a higher tax rate, with increased residential occupancy by lower-income residents.

The ramifications of these negative attitudes can be seen in the unwillingness of many blacks to move to the suburbs; a major reason given in studies is "the lack of community facilities which the minority person may freely use outside of the minority community and the lack of associational opportunities" (McEntire, 1960, p. 188). The result of a 1966 Harris Poll, however, indicated that 68 percent of a random sample of American blacks interviewed had a preference for living in integrated neighborhoods. At the same time, only 17 percent indicated a preference for living in all-black neighborhoods, with only 8 percent of the northern blacks questioned preferring the all-black neighborhood. (Kain, 1975, p. 60).

The federal response to open housing demands was Title VIII of the Civil Rights Act of 1968, which prohibits discrimination in all multifamily housing except one-to-four family dwellings in which the owner occupies a unit. It also prohibits discrimination in all single-family homes except where the house is sold or rented by the owner-occupant without the use of a real estate broker, provided the home is not advertised in a discriminatory manner (HUD, 1974, p. 49).

In response to economic constraints on lower-income residents, the federal government operates various housing assistance programs. In 1972, over 21.7 million low-income households with income less than $7,000 annually were eligible for federal subsidized housing, yet only 1.5 million of these households were being served by various federal housing assistance programs and only a small percentage of these were black (HUD, 1974, p. 128).

Table 10
Percentage of Households
Served by HUD Subsidy Programs
by Income and Minority Group, 1972*

Gross Annual Household Income	Household Grouping Total	Black
Under $1,000	1%	2%
$1,000-1,999	7	19
$2,000-2,999	7	20
$3,000-3,999	6	18
$4,000-4,999	6	17
$5,000-5,999	5	14
$6,000-6,999	4	11
$7,000-7,999	3	7
$8,000-9,999	1	4

*HUD, 1974, p. 104

John Macey (1972), a noted English housing expert, was retained by HUD to study the entire effort of publicly assisted housing in the United States. In his report, *Publicly Provided and Assisted Housing in the USA*, he identified six aspects of this country's housing policies which tend to minimize the efforts of housing assistance and, subsequently, open-housing opportunities. These include:

- Too many authorities. More than one million housing units are managed by 2,500 local housing authorities, of which less than 300 own more than 400 units.

- Too little involvement by local government causing local government to feel little or no responsibility for the housing problems of its own residents.

- Too much involvement by the federal government. Local authorities have no sources of revenue except rents; if local revenues could be generated, the federal share could be utilized toward expanding housing production and not on excessive administrative monitoring.

- Too much concentration on low-income families. Projects should have economic mix so the potential of tenants ability to pay higher rents would rise.

- Too little housing management expertise, exacerbated by too little tenant involvement.

- Too narrow a view of housing. Government intervention has been viewed as undesirable and therefore has been confined to the smallest possible limits and lower-income families, and there has been a tendency to view new housing construction as the cure for housing problems. (pp. 3-9)

Part IV: Testing of Conclusions in the Atlanta Region

Comparative statistics and analysis on a national level are useful in framing an overall view of isolation in public education. They become less adequate, however, when discussion centers on particular cities or regions of the country. For this reason a particular region, Atlanta, has been chosen to illustrate some of the various indicators discussed in the first three parts of this paper.

Demographic Characteristics and Patterns in the Atlanta Region, 1950-75

The Atlanta region, as defined in this study, includes the six counties of Clayton, Cobb, DeKalb, Douglas, Fulton and Gwinnett and 46 municipalities. Ten public school systems serve the region, including the six county systems and the four independent systems of Atlanta, Buford, Decatur and Marietta.

In 1975, the six-county region was estimated to have a population of over 1.65 million residents, more than double the region's 1950 population, and indicating its desirability and willingness to foster employment and residential opportunities. The work force in the region expanded from over 400,000 employees to almost 600 000 between 1960 and 1970, a 49 percent increase. At the same time the population increased only 37 percent from slightly over one million in 1960 to 1.4 million 10 years later. The higher rate of growth of employment is indicative of the region's attractive nature to young single workers and a reduction in the average household size.

The percentage of black residents in the region declined from 25 percent of the total population in 1950 to 22 percent in 1975. The percentage of blacks in Atlanta, however, rose from 37 percent in 1950 to 55 percent by 1975 (ARC, 1976a; Dept. of Commerce, 1952, 1962, 1972).

The characteristic mobility of the region's population, as reflected in the 1970 census, was partially responsible for the area's growth. In 1970, 58 percent of the residents of the (then) five-county SMSA lived in a different house than they did in 1965. Moves within the SMSA accounted for over half of the total moves during that period, with 72,210 persons leaving the central city for other areas in the SMSA and 24,875 persons leaving other parts of the area to move into the central city.

Of the 72,210 leaving the central city for other parts of the SMSA, there were almost three times as many whites as blacks. The reverse was true for inmigration to the central city, with 9.5 percent of the total black movers inmigrating compared to 5.1 percent of the total white migrants (ARC 1976a, pp. 15-18).

The *de facto* pattern of residential segregation characteristic of northern cities has become apparent in the Atlanta region during the last two decades. In 1950, 66 percent of whites in the six-county region lived in census tracts with under 10 percent black residents; by 1974 that figure had risen to 82 percent (ARC, 1976a).

The annual family income of black families in the metropolitan area rose dramatically between 1960 and 1970. In 1960, 79 percent of all black families earned less than $5,000 annually. By 1970 that figure had been reduced to 37 percent of the black families. In 1960, 17 percent of the white families and 2 percent of the black families earned $10,000 or more. These percentages had climbed to 54 percent and 25 percent respectively by 1970 (Department of Commerce, 1962, 1972).

The rise in black family income can be attributed to several factors including a greater percentage of high school and college graduates, practical elimination of *de jure* discrimination and inroads made in eliminating *de facto* job discrimination. In 1960, 5 percent of the employed blacks were classified as professionals, managers and administrators. This figure had more than doubled by 1970. At the same time, the percentage of blacks in private household service decreased from 49 percent in 1960 to 29 percent by 1970. The greatest occupational percentage increase for blacks came in sales and clerical workers, rising from only 6 percent of all black workers in 1960 to 19 percent in 1970.

Although blacks have made substantial progress in equal occupational opportunities, they nonetheless lag far behind whites in similar occupations.

In 1960, 29 percent of all workers of the region lived in the center city while 48 percent of the black employees lived there. By 1970 the percentage of total workers living in the center city had declined to 15 percent, but the black worker percentage increased to 54 percent. A gradual outward shift of the entire labor force to the suburbs may be seen between 1960 and 1970 by comparing the percentages in each of the suburban rings. In 1960, the percentage of all workers in the center city and the first, second and third suburban rings was 29 percent, 47 percent, 15 percent and 7 percent, respectively. In 1970, these proportions had changed to 15 percent, 52 percent, 24 percent and 9 percent, respectively.

One of the primary reasons that blacks have not made further advances is the lack or restraint of access to emerging suburban centers of employment, which creates additional transportation and time costs for blacks; these costs devalue suburban wages to the point that a negative incentive is provided for taking a low-paying and perhaps lower-status job in the central city or moving to another urban area.

Atlanta and its region have grown from a regional distribution point to a national and international transportation and service center. The region and its people have prospered and, relative to the older industrial cities of the north, the environment has remained relatively unscathed by development. The figures on population growth and distribution, however, tell of less than full opportunity afforded to blacks and of trends begun, which, unless halted, will result in two divided and walled camps — the blacks in the cities (Atlanta, Decatur and Marietta) and the whites in the unincorporated portions of the region's counties.

Effects of Change on Public Education in the Atlanta Region

The 10 public school systems of the region have basically maintained the neighborhood school concept, which, because of racially segregated housing patterns, has resulted in segregated schools. The Atlanta system, under a 1973 court order, allows transfers of black children to white schools outside their neighborhood, but the rationale for such transfers has been eroded by the exodus of white students from the system.

The average daily attendance (ADA) in the 10 systems rose from over 116,000 students in 1950 to almost 306,800 students in 1975, a 164 percent increase. During the same period the Atlanta system increased 74 percent over its 1950 ADA, but declined from over 92,700 students in 1970 to below 77,500 five years later. Clayton County schools recorded the greatest percentage increase (613 percent), going from an ADA of almost 4,100 in 1950 to over 29,200 by 1975.

Table 11
Public School Average Daily Attendance (ADA) in the Six-County Atlanta Region, 1950-75
(Georgia Department of Education, 1950-75)

Average Daily Attendance (K-12)

System	1950	1960	1970	1975	Percent Increase 1950-75
Clayton	4,097	11,128	24,982	29,220	613
Cobb	8,118	20,918	41,505	45,792	464
DeKalb	12,926	41,406	80,556	80,571	524
Douglas	2,577	4,040	6,865	9,794	280
Fulton	29,768	24,236	32,240	31,971	8
Gwinnett	6,590	9,162	16,157	23,075	250
Atlanta	44,401	88,202	92,702	77,437	74
Buford	677	903	1,068	1,156	71
Decatur	3,241	3,865	3,929	3,408	5
Marietta	3,634	5,209	5,053	4,367	20
TOTAL	116,029	209,069	305,057	306,791	164
Percent increase from previous period		80	46	0.5	

As a result of shifting populations, there is a maldistribution of classrooms within the 10 school districts. The total capacity in 1975 for the 10 districts was 304,000, with an average daily attendance of 288,053, or 95 percent of capacity. However, the ratio of ADA to capacity ranges from 149 percent in the Gwinnett County middle schools to only 44 percent in the Fulton County junior high schools.

Another important disparity among the school districts is the racial composition of their students. In 1975, 100 percent of the students in the Buford and Marietta school districts attended desegregated schools, defined here as schools with not less than a 10 percent minority population, whether that minority be white or black students. Cobb County, with 4.1 percent of its students attending desegregated schools, had the lowest percentage. In Atlanta, 31.5 percent of the students attended desegregated schools (HEW, 1974). Of the 488 public schools in the region, 235 (48.2 percent) are 90 percent or more white, 106 (21.7 percent) are 90 percent or more black and 147 (30.1 percent) are desegregated by the definition noted above.

The cost of public education also varies widely within the region, although all systems have experienced substantial increases in recent years. In 1975 Atlanta City Schools spent $1,411 per child for public education, the highest per-student total in the entire state; at the other end of the scale, Clayton County spent $792.

Increased per-student expenditures, however, do not automatically result in a more effective or efficient educational system. In the state of Georgia, 72 percent of the total educational costs per student goes toward instruction, with the remaining costs absorbed by administration, transportation, maintenance and operation and fixed charges. In Atlanta only 65 percent of the schools' budget is spent on instruction, whereas the Clayton County system allocates 80 percent of its budget to classroom instruction.

Many whites and blacks have lost faith in the Atlanta school system. The city of Atlanta has almost the same percentage of teachers with college degrees and a greater percentage of teachers with five to seven years of college than DeKalb County, considered by many to be the state's finest school system. Yet, when achievement scores on standardized tests and grade-equivalence levels are compared, Atlanta students are at the bottom of the region's systems.

The 1973 desegregation compromise has burdened the system with an administration that is top-heavy. The city system has not been abandoned, for many people are working to strengthen it, but a lesson can be learned by many of the suburban systems that are experiencing, or are going to experience, some of the city's problems.

Many of DeKalb County's schools inside Interstate 285 and south of Decatur are rapidly becoming majority black. Fulton County schools in East Point, College Park and the central portions of the county have experienced an influx of black students. In effect the schools of the region are becoming segregated once again, despite court orders, busing plans and other efforts. As it has been demonstrated many times, the internal forces working to defeat or negate such efforts are almost always stronger than the outside intervention. In other works, internal support for change must be created or reinforced for the intervention to hold any promise of success.

Agents of Change in Atlanta – The Courts

The single most influential element in the effort to reduce isolation in the region's schools has been the court system. The courts have to a large extent determined the present level of desegregation in the Atlanta region's schools. There have been five school desegregation cases and several other related cases from the region brought before the Federal District Court, the 5th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals or the U.S. Supreme Court in the past 25 years. Three of these are of significance to the overall structures of the 10 school systems under study.

The first major school desegregation suit was brought against the Atlanta school system by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1958. In 1971, the District Court found in part that:

> Atlanta's *de jure* status has long since been removed. . . . Its present problems are entirely *de facto*. There is absolutely no evidence of any affirmative action by the (Atlanta) Board (of Education) to *increase* (emphasis added) segregation. . . . Looking ahead, the court is compelled to note that the critical point for public education in the city of Atlanta and it environs has been reached. The situation calls for a sweeping examina-

> tion of its relationship to housing, planning, finance, rapid transit and all other external factors, which vitally affects its role in the community (*Calhoun v. Cook*, 332 F.Supp. 804, 1971).

The court forcefully placed the blame for the educational patterns of segregation on the Atlanta area's housing patterns:

> Segregated housing, whether impelled by school changes or not, remains the unconquerable foe of the racial ideal of integrated public schools in the cities. The white flight to the suburbs and private schools continues. . . The problem is no longer how to achieve integration, but how to prevent resegregation (*Calhoun v. Cook*, 332 F.Supp. 806, 1971).

This decision was appealed by the NAACP to the 5th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, which overruled the District Court decree and remanded that the Atlanta public schools be fully desegregated immediately. The need for a decision at that level was obviated by a compromise agreement between the Atlanta Board of Education and the NAACP in 1973.

In a case involving the dispersing of public housing by the Atlanta Housing Authority (AHA) into Fulton County, the question of the relationship between residential segregation and school segregation was raised once again. *Crow v. Brown* (332 F.Supp. 382, aff'd 457 F.2d. 788, 1971) consolidated two cases involving developers who could not get the necessary rezoning and building permits for public housing units in Fulton County from the County Commission. Plaintiffs contended that the two projects, Boatrock and Red Oak, were denied permits solely because of racial discrimination. The court ruled that the commission's refusal to issue the building permits was discrimination against future public housing tenants on the basis of their probable race (the AHA waiting list of residents was 95 percent black families) and ordered that Fulton County issue the necessary permits regardless of the nature of the project as long as it met the objective codes of the county. The future of the city of Atlanta as a residential choice for whites and the dispersion of public housing as an initial step in breaking the patterns of educational segregation are two important aspects of this decision:

> Within the immediate future . . . it is not merely possible but certain that Atlanta will become, in essence, a black city with a solid white perimeter . . . the goal of the plan is to perserve Atlanta's future as a city in which both whites and blacks may live . . . the public housing program in Atlanta has contributed, in no small way, to racial concentration in a compacted area. One of the consequences of racial concentration is that it has become virtually impossible to achieve meaningful school desegregation. Indeed . . . a dispersal of urban housing patterns is the only alternative to massive busing if desegregation, rather than resegregation, is to be achieved (*Crow v. Brown*, 322 F.Supp. 384, 391, 1971).

Another important element of the case was Judge Edenfield's order creating a committee to select possible future public housing sites in Atlanta and Fulton County. That committee's report was the first attempt at a comprehensive public housing policy in the city. Thirteen sites in the city and 18 in unincorporated Fulton County were selected as meeting the following criteria: satisfactory topography, available and accessible public services such as health centers and parks, uncrowded schools, public transportation, compatibility with surrounding land uses and employment and shopping opportunities. The report recommended also that the Atlanta Regional Commission (ARC) plan for a regional housing authority, that no more than 50 to 100 family units be built in any one location, that the leased housing program (Section 8 and the old Section 23) be expanded and that project social services be increased (Research Atlanta, 1972, p. 34).

The third court case significant to efforts to reduce isolation in Atlanta is another case involving the public schools, *Armour v. Nix* (Civil Action No. 16708 [N.D.Ga.]). The suit was filed by the American Civil Liberties Union in June of 1972 on behalf of 26 black parents and their children; defendants included the state superintendent and board and 9 of the region's 10 public school systems. The last defendant was later added. In this case, expected to be tried shortly, plaintiffs are seeking to achieve metropolitan school desegregation by interdistrict transfer of students.

In *Armour v. Nix* plaintiffs contend that there have been covert and overt attempts on the part of Atlanta and the suburban school systems to illegally maintain segregation. Their complaint documents several instances of cooperative interdistrict busing between Atlanta and other systems in order to maintain segregated schools.

The interdistrict transfer of white and black students has taken place among most of the school systems under study through contractual arrangements between two districts. In general, nonresident black students have been allowed to attend Atlanta schools and white Atlanta students have attended public schools outside the city. None of the school systems, however, receive black students from other systems. Further, efforts to consolidate the independent city school districts with their counties have been rejected "because maintenance of the separate independent system in the past or at present isolates large numbers of black students within the independent schools systems' boundary lines" (Plaintiffs', 1975, p. 24).

Plaintiffs also contend that state, regional (the ARC) and local government actions have aided in the maintenance of segregated housing and, hence, education patterns.

> The state and its instrumentalities have pursued segregative public housing (urban renewal, and exclusionary zoning) practices which have required or had the effect of: restricting blacks to prescribed . . . (the cities) in the metropolitan area, . . . and precluding blacks from residing in suburban communities in the metropolitan area. These practices have made meaningful school desegregation virtually impossible (Plaintiffs', 1975, p. 27).

Agents of Change in Atlanta Local Government

Within the Atlanta region, 105 public or semipublic units of government have varying control and responsibility over the region's residents, including 59 housing, hospital, airport and other authorities and special districts, in addition to the 46 municipal and 6 county governments.

Provision of services is handled primarily by the counties, with the smaller cities contracting for such county services as fire protection, water and sewer, and planning and zoning. Of the 46 municipalities, 39 had populations of under 10,000; thus, the very size of the municipalities has forced either contractual, informal or joint obligations for public services among municipalities or among municipalities and counties. All total, there are almost 240 intergovernmental contracts or agreements between the municipalities and counties for services, not including the agreements between special districts and various authorities and the populations they serve.

Tax rates vary from a high of 59.34 mills in Atlanta to a low of 31.40 mills in Gwinnett County (ARC, 1976c, p. 2). In all of the counties and most of the municipalities of the region, school operating expenses require close to 50 percent of the resulting revenues. According to an ARC study based on 1970 information, municipal basic public service costs increased at a higher rate than county expenditures as population increased. In municipalities with populations over 15,000 the rate was over three times the counties' per capita service increases.

Atlanta's services have attracted lower-income residents to the city from areas where such needed services are either nonexistent or unsatisfactory. This has created fiscal strains on Atlanta's government as many expenditures have increased due to the influx of lower-income residents, yet the rate of revenue collection is limited in comparison with that afforded by middle- and upper-income residents: it has been estimated that the city spends more money on providing services to residences valued at less than $65,000 than it charges in users' fees and taxes (Sweat).

Atlanta is not the only jurisdiction within the region which has financial problems. Cities and counties which have experienced recent growth have tried in vain to maintain adequate services to their expanding population. There has been continued resistance to annexation or consolidation attempts. Therefore, the most likely legislative responses to the fiscal problems and service in capacity of several municipalities and counties in the region is the creation of either regional or multijurisdictional special districts to provide such basic public services as water, sewage treatment and fire protection.

The costs of providing services are going to continue to rise due largely to federal and state environmental protection policies, increased levels of service, unionization of public workers and increased levels of public work force.

The factors associated with racial discrimination have seldom been recognized, especially in cost-effective planning.

Societal discrimination and individual prejudice still overshadow such economic considerations as overutilized school facilities, adequate and safe housing for lower-income residents, effective use of natural and human resources, increased tax revenues and decreased public costs accompanying a population with reduced unemployment.

Finding an acceptable method of redistribution of the region's revenues and expenditures is perhaps *the* critical issue in the Atlanta region, for Atlanta *and* the suburban counties and municipalities. If an equitable redistribution of revenues is not achieved, the level of public service and the environmental quality in the region will decline; the racial chasm between the region's major cities and surrounding areas will be enlarged; and the deterioration of one jurisdiction may have devastating economic and social consequences for the entire region. In short, without some form of intergovernmental cooperation, the amenities available in, and the resources of, the region will be so depleted that no amount of governmental separation and local autonomy will be able to maintain desired levels of urban service.

Agents of Change in Atlanta - Open Housing

As the Atlanta region absorbs new development and growth in population, old patterns of central city residential development are being replaced by suburban housing tracts, new towns and planned-unit developments (PUDs). Patterns of residential segregation appear as strong, and perhaps stronger, than before *de jure* segregative practices were struck down by the courts.

The federal role in suburbanization and segregation, both in terms of action taken and opportunities missed, has been significant. The first outward movement of people from Atlanta occurred in the 1950s. Early FHA and VA policies requiring homogeneous neighborhoods as a prerequisite to financing affected the Atlanta region's housing market in much the same segregative manner as they did the rest of the nation.

From 1958 to 1972, almost 25,000 residential building permits were issued in Atlanta, 12 percent for single-family units and 88 percent for multifamily units. Of the multifamily dwellings, the federal government either partially or wholly subsidized 61 percent or 54 percent of the total residential permits issued (Research Atlanta, 1972, p. 34). If the federal government had required affirmative action of public housing authorities and private developers before it released construction funds, over one-half the units built during this period would have been affected by open-housing policies.

Regionally, the dispersion of federally assisted housing has not been accomplished. In 1975, the city of Atlanta contained 81 percent of the public housing units in the region. Reportage of the racial composition of projects is not required by HUD and only the Atlanta Housing Authority (AHA) maintains such records. From interviews with the directors of other authorities, it appears that as of 1975 almost all of the public housing units outside the city were largely segregated.

Under Georgia statute, the Atlanta Housing Authority has jurisdiction to build as far as 10 miles from the city's boundaries if there is not another housing authority in that jurisdiction. Expansion and dispersion of AHA housing within this extraterritorial area has been effectively stopped by Cobb and Fulton Counties, which have created local housing authorities but have never built or owned any housing units, and by DeKalb County, which has developed only one project.

In the Atlanta region there were in 1975 nearly 12,700 federally assisted housing units financed through Sections 202, 221(d)3 Below Market Interest Rate (BMIR), and 236, 70 percent in Atlanta. Blacks occupied 52 percent of the region's federally assisted units, and 88 percent of these black occupants lived in Atlanta.

One of the few positive federal attempts at dispersing public housing has been Section 8 — Leased Housing. Under this program, units are leased from private developers and the local housing authority pays in effect the difference between 25 percent of the lower-income household's adjusted income and the fair market rent of the dwelling. Seven of the region's local housing authorities have requested allocations from HUD for Section 8 housing, but of the 2,147 units allocated by HUD to these authorities, only 713 units (33 percent) had been brought under lease as of June 9, 1976 (HUD, 1975b).

On the local level, starting in the 1950s the region's county and municipal officials required racial restrictive covenants in rezoning petitions (Plaintiffs', 1975, pp. 6-13). Zoning has been a particularly effective instrument of segregation.

The sale of housing to blacks has also been restricted by activities of the various boards of realtors in the region, as well as by the Georgia Real Estate Commission. Between 1948 and 1960, the commission suspended or revoked the licenses of black brokers and salespeople who sold homes in white neighborhoods to blacks; but it took no action to suspend white brokers for discriminatory real estate practices until 1975 (Plaintiffs', 1975, p. 33). None of the region's boards of realtors have adopted the National Association of Realtors' Code for Equal Opportunity in Housing or its Guide for Equal Opportunity in Housing. Federal policies and real estate brokers, however, have not been the only determinants of racial discrimination in the region's housing markets:

> In Atlanta . . . the racial occupancy of certain disputed areas has been a subject of organized negotiation between Negro and white communities. . . . Certain of the expansion areas desired by Negroes were violently contested. To insure peaceful *transition* (emphasis added), a biracial group was formed. . . . This group, with support from both white and Negro communities, negotiated the boundaries of Negro expansion. . . . Areas which it designated for Negro occupancy ceased to be contested and were promptly evacuated by resident whites. . . . In return for peaceful possession of certain desired territory, the Negro leadership agreed not to press expansion beyond certain limits, agreements which later it had cause to regret. Intensified segregation is another price which Atlanta Negroes have had to pay for added living space (McEntire, 1960, p. 78).

Thus the limited federal efforts at black residential dispersion have been countered by local governments refusing to accept public or federally assisted housing; and private attempts at dispersion have been hampered by lack of cooperation from realtors, lending institutions, local government and suburban residents. Initial policies and investments may be undertaken by public agencies toward open housing, but until the private sector is convinced that open housing is in its best interest little progress will be achieved.

Part V: Recommendations and Implementation

Although the recommendations of this section are based upon conditions existing in the Atlanta region, they could be implemented in other metropolitan areas with similar demographic and governmental characteristics. Successful implementation in any community of policies intended to reduce educational isolation requires a basic understanding of the comprehensive and interrelated nature of the educational processes with residential, economic and political opportunities.

These recommendations assume that societal, institutional and individual values will be sufficiently modified by the positive results of the initial phase strategies to stimulate and sustain successive phases of implementation requiring substantially greater value changes.

Phasing is related to the nature of the action recommended. Actions which are possible with minor or no modifications of existing practices or legislation are grouped in Phase I. Phase II requires moderate modifications, while the actions recommended under Phase III rely on fundamental redistribution of power, major legislative and policy changes and fiscal reallocation among the various levels of government.

Each of the policies and actions recommended within this chapter is affected by a combination of federal, state, regional and local governmental policies and programs, as well as private actions. Policy decisions on one level of government do not necessarily guarantee implementation at another. Thus, an interrelated system of policy makers, administrators, providers and suppliers is involved in the implementation of each of these actions.

Implicit to the success of Phase III actions is the successful implementation of preceding ones in Phases I and II. The underlying strategy to these recommendations is to sequentially expand and deepen commitment to the goals of redistributing population, economic opportunity and educational resources to reduce isolation in public schools.

The frequency and extent of contact situations among ethnic groups are planned to increase in each successive phase, complementing the various policies and actions. Beginning with such informal contacts as shopping or walking, the contact situation would increase with expanded employment opportunities for blacks, more widespread use of public and private recreational facilities and increased educational opportunities for blacks, eventually reaching the personal-contact level of integrated residential opportunities.

The following contains a brief analysis of each recommended action.

Phase I

Civil rights enforcement. The federal government, through the courts and legislative edict, has reaffirmed the civil rights of all Americans regardless of race. The impact of its actions, however, has been weakened by state and local government interpretation and control.

The task of civil rights enforcement has proven to be difficult at the local level. State and local officials sharing the responsibilities of enforcement must serve two masters, the federal government and a local constituency; being directly accountable to local residents, state and local officials and politicians may waiver on enforcement of civil rights issues if they perceive opposition from their jurisdiction.

In the face of state and local opposition, the federal government has at times not actively enforced or required compliance with its own civil rights policies. Until there is an aggressive and consistent federal policy of total compliance with such regulations and laws, state and local officials cannot be expected to uphold these same enactments.

In recent years, it has become apparent that a neutral stance toward civil rights compliance is, in effect, a negative one because it allows *de facto* barriers to civil rights to be constructed, replacing the *de jure* ones which have been removed. Through a constant and uniform effort of civil rights enforcement, such *de facto* policies may be discouraged.

Affirmative action in A-95 review. In each region there is an agency charged with the A-95 review process. These have been given far-reaching clearinghouse authority over most federal funding entering local jurisdictions, including monies for community development. In Atlanta, the Atlanta Regional Commission (ARC) reviews all local requests for federal funds to assure their compliance with and fulfillment of the objectives of the regional comprehensive plan.

Clarification of existing policies by the federal Office of Management and Budget (OMB) would further strengthen regional agency attempts to disperse low- and moderate-income resident housing throughout metropolitan areas. The OMB should require that all regional review agencies establish a comprehensive plan; develop strategies which reflect the region's problems; and compete for federal grants on the basis of the effectiveness of their strategies, including those for expansion of residential and economic opportunities for blacks. Federal funds could be withheld or diverted to complying jurisdictions within the same region. The critical factor, however, is that federal funds remain committed to that same region with distribution on this competitive basis and controlled by the regional agency.

An A-95 review agency has authority over the following housing programs: all housing with 50 or more lots which involves any HUD home-mortgage plan; multifamily projects with 100 or more units which are under any HUD mortgage-insurance program (subsidized or unsubsidized); the public housing program; and HUD-assisted mobile-home courts with 100 or more spaces. Recent HUD programs such as Section 8 leased public housing and scattered site rehabilitation units characteristically involve fewer units, and as they have begun to supplant the larger projects, the number of HUD projects under the review of the A-95 agency has been reduced. Therefore, the minimum number of units required for A-95 review should be reduced to 10 percent of current minimums in each HUD program.

Coordinate the activities of similar agencies. Many federal programs have been less than successful because of the lack of coordination with and participation of related state and federal agencies. Those programs which require supportive services from state and local agencies should be reviewed by those agencies within a standard framework provided by the OMB. Such review should include, by agency, an estimate of required services and programs implied by the action under review, a schedule of implementation and a determination as to whether such supportive services are realistic. On this basis the A-95 review agency would approve, modify or cancel the original request, depending on the supportive activities available and the relationship of the proposal to the regional development plan.

Establish priorities for community-development funding. The Housing and Community Development Act (HCD) of 1974 consolidated the administration of many federal programs to achieve better coordination in meeting existing community needs. As a result, however, the federal government lost compliance control of some programs.

Overall uniform requirements for community-development funding should be established by the federal government with each state community-development agency bound to maintain minimum required standards that give priority to certain needs. A state agency would then assign communities with inadequate affirmative action programs, including a lower priority in allocating funds for low- and moderate-income housing, than those jurisdictions with such programs. This priority or incentive method avoids direct accusations of discrimination and minimizes straining local political support as noncomplying jurisdictions are not completely excluded.

Present fiscal pressures are such that most local governments are requesting state or federal aid and will continue to do so. The demands of population growth and movement, increasingly restrictive (and expensive) environmental controls, the politically sensitive issue of increasing local property taxes to pay for such improvements, and the benefits of fiscal reallocation and redistribution have convinced many localities that the dangers of affirmative action programs are outweighed by the fiscal rewards of compliance.

Through the resulting expansion of opportunities in jurisdictions receiving federal community-development funds, the residential and, indirectly, the economic and educational opportunities for blacks will be improved. Further, the public service expenditures of a region's population will be more equitably distributed by such a priority system because each locality would be required to plan for a racial and economic residential mixture.

Enforce other federal grant requirements. The federal government has for many years used the carrot-and-stick method recommended above to gain local compliance with national policies. Local government has become accustomed to and has largely accepted this form of barter. Recently, however, local jurisdictions have resisted federal requirements while still accepting federal funding. Compliance with many of the policies of the Departments of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) and Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) has been slow in many localities and nonexistent in others because of the threat of desegregation such compliance implies.

The most recent controversy has focused on the discriminatory use of federal revenue-sharing funds. The nondiscriminatory provisions of the Revenue Sharing Act of 1972 are not as comprehensive as those of other federal funds and the extent to which federal funding can be used to free local monies for projects not covered by the provisions of the act has not been controlled. When revenue-sharing funds free a certain percentage of local funds (e.g., 25 percent) for other uses, these funds should be considered under the act's regulations.

Further, "enforcement" of the nondiscriminatory provisions of the act is limited to the Office of Revenue Sharing receiving complaints of alleged violations. The Office does not use audit or review procedures to monitor implementation by localities. Through fiscal year 1975, the average processing time to close cases involving complaints was 10 months, with cases still pending having been open an average of more than 12 months.

Enforcement of federal requirements and regulations should be a consistent, established policy, and an adequate enforcement program should include selected reviews and audits of local programs to determine compliance with federal regulations. Regional federal agencies are currently responsible for enforcement of selected federal programs. Enforcement must necessarily be carried out on a smaller than national basis, but a central agency should be charged with the responsibility of coordinating existing enforcement sections in all programs.

Affirmative federal facilities location policies. Over the last 25 years, federal facilities have often relocated from central city to suburban areas where the insufficient or nonexistent supply of suburban housing for blacks has forced black employees to either bear the increased costs of commuting or change jobs. In 1969, the General Services Administration (GSA) issued a directive instructing all federal agencies not to locate in suburban areas unless transportation access or housing opportunities were available for low- and moderate-income workers.

That policy should be modified such that no federal facilities will be constructed in suburban areas without adequate housing opportunities for black workers. The environmental impact statement (EIS) necessary for such facilities includes a survey of such housing opportunities and a negative review should automatically reject the site. Affirmative location of private industry should not be expected until location policies for federal facilities require equal housing opportunity for all government workers.

Litigation of zoning. Exclusionary zoning in suburban jurisdictions has served as an economic filter, primarily affecting blacks. In light of recent Supreme Court decisions, local ordinances may only be declared unconstitutional if the *intent* to discriminate can be proven, regardless of whether or not the *effect* of an ordinance is to exclude blacks.

While the distinction between intent and effect has not been resolved by the courts, private pressures through selective litigation could help to clarify the issue. The key factor is the extent to which public policies can be held responsible for segregative activity. With increased federal aid to localities and a subsequent expansion of governmental activities and intervention in local decision making, courts are going to be hard pressed to ignore a government's overt or covert funding and policy roles in private actions.

The mere threat of litigation can have a positive effect by exposing evidence of discrimination to the public. As a result plaintiffs may mobilize community pressures for solution, or, faced with long and expensive proceedings, government might choose to revise the restrictive control.

Litigation of public housing location. Although Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibits discrimination because of race, color or national origin in, among other programs, projects receiving aid from HUD, public housing continues to be concentrated in central cities. Suburban jurisdictions have been able to control the location of public housing without fear of state or federal intervention or the loss of funding; consequently, there has been no incentive for them to modify their position. But those communities seeking funds under the 1974 Housing and Community Development Act must submit a housing assistance plan; this plan contains an "expected to reside" section, which requires jurisdictions to estimate the number of low-income dwelling units that should be built in the jurisdiction, based upon the act's criteria. If a jurisdiction is found in violation of the 1974 Act or the 1964 Civil Rights Act, federal monies may be withheld. Litigation to force compliance with this section has been successful in Hartford, Connecticut, with the result that five out of seven of the suburban jurisdictions involved have agreed to promote the dispersion of public housing in their area. Such litigation may make use of the 1974 Housing and Community Development Act, the most effective weapon in promoting regional public housing.

Closely related to public-housing-location litigation are exclusionary zoning test cases because success in one case may affect other jurisdictions. Until local jurisdictions are persuaded to meet the needs of all of their residents through revision of land-use controls the dispersion of public housing has little chance to succeed.

Litigation of public school desegregation. Recent litigation has expanded the range of actions that affect the educational process to include regional employment and residential policies, governmental intervention and policies, and private and public discrimination. The opportunity to desegregate the classrooms does not exist in many large cities because there are so few whites left in the public system and the issue of metropolitan remedy remains unclear. School-desegregation litigation should be comprehensive in nature, related to housing and employment opportunities, and remedies should be framed to the fullest extent possible for the "natural" desegregation of schools, i.e., desegregated neighborhoods resulting in desegregated schools.

Community organization and involvement: structure and motivate. One of the bitter lessons learned during decades of school-desegregation activities is that a committed community organization can slow, compromise and even block implementation of judicial decrees. To harness this same organization and commitment for school desegregation and resource redistribution would insure their success.

The initial step in organizing a community group to support desegregation is to identify the political and social issues, i.e., the goals of population and economic redistribution to achieve educational desegregation. From these an effective organizational structure can be formulated.

The opportunity for wide representation from existing racial, economic, education, parent and student groups must be insured. Providing a forum where divergent points of view can be heard in a constructive situation, particularly in the initial stages, allows the organization to identify issues of conflict and by objective research and dialogue to attempt to resolve them.

The success of the organization depends upon the motivation and desire of residents to initially come together in a dialogue. The responsibility for initiating this coming together belongs to a nucleus of existing, respected community groups. The initial stimulus would probably come from a single group but the public effort must be a cooperative venture.

The structure of the organization must accentuate the shared strengths and problems of all the members to achieve a sense of common purpose. If the prospective members perceive no benefit for themselves, they will have little incentive to join.

Affirmative corporate-location policies. Locational studies conducted by most corporations include demand and market factors and other economic considerations. Many rate the desirability of a community under consideration in terms of its residential areas, public service amenities, labor market and image; some, particularly national corporations, look for areas where all their employees can find suitable housing. Open-housing policies say something about the community and its progressive approach to issues. Corporations should let local officials know the importance they place on such policies. This could be a positive factor in influencing a community's attitudes toward open housing, school desegregation and increased employment opportunities for blacks.

Corporations may be influenced to make such demands when they realize that black employees may be less productive and may even leave a company if they must live in a hostile community or in a segregated residential section. Conversely, affirmative corporation-location policies could attract highly qualified blacks to a company; competition for the best employees could lead corporations to offer such policies as an employee enticement.

Expansion of central city private-market housing loans. Individual relocation decisions are influenced by numerous factors, including redlining and steering. Such policies and those requiring larger down payments for central city housing discourage many prospective residents who have a positive attitude toward their neighbors and are willing to spend time and energy in community groups to help reduce isolation; these are the very qualities a city needs to enhance its regional and national image.

Through positive media coverage and by word of mouth, central city revitalization and repopulation by upwardly mobile middle-income whites could cause others to consider moving into the city to take advantage of its many amenities. The longer-range objective of this process is to modify current belief that a suburban home is the ultimate aim of affluent whites and that the city is primarily a residential choice only of the poor and minorities.

Phase II

In Phase II, the emphasis shifts from *enforcing* policies that already exist primarily on the federal level, to *revising* mostly state and local policies, programs and actions.

Reduce dependency of public-education funding on local property tax. The primary revenue source of the local share of public education is the property tax. As long as this is the case localities will continue to attempt to increase the number of tax providers. This means that small middle-class families are welcomed in most jurisdictions while larger, low-income families are effectively excluded through land-use controls.

It is unrealistic to expect the property tax to be replaced overnight as the basis of local education financing. Given increased levels of federal and state funding, however, it is likely that its importance will be progressively diminished in the immediate future. Initial policy changes to hasten that process are directed at the state level to develop a more flexible and equitable redistribution system of state financial aid to schools.

First, to equalize education service costs in the urban areas of the state, cost-of-living factors should be established for each of the 18 Area Planning and Development Commission (APDC) areas.

In 1976, the Georgia State Board of Education issued a policy statement supporting interdistrict construction of school facilities by interested districts and pledged to pay for the construction of such facilities. As a logical extension of that policy, to better utilize existing school facilities and to improve ethnic balance the state should offer bonus factors which give incentive for the transfer of students, both inter- and intradistrict, such as those provided by Wisconsin (see Chapter III, p. 52).

While the federal share of educational expenditures is only 8 percent in the Atlanta region, it nonetheless provides valuable services which could not (or would not) otherwise be undertaken. To encourage local districts to apply for such federal grants, thereby coming under their nondiscriminatory provisions, the state should match on a one-to-one basis all federal monies granted to school districts. By initiating voluntary interdistrict cooperative efforts with additional state educational contributions to local districts, a pattern of natural and cooperative relationship among districts may arise which is critical for successful implementation of the Phase III policy to develop a regional education authority.

Redistribute governmental services. Because of cost factors, many jurisdictions are unable to provide necessary services to all their residents. Housing for lower-income residents is still largely excluded in the belief that such housing increases public service costs, despite results of several studies revealing that uncontrolled growth is the primary cause of increased public expenditures.

Effective redistribution of revenues, resources, and expenditures, unlikely if not impossible on a local level, is realistic regionally. The establishment of special districts under the review of the ARC would coordinate development and minimize public expenditures in one locality created by the actions of another locality. To minimize capital expenditures, developing jurisdictions should establish an authority with units of government that have already invested in capital facilities.

This relatively minor change from current practices would establish a long-term partnership among local jurisdictions instead of current short-term contractual sales among local governments. Developing jurisdictions would be assured of a partner's voice in decisions affecting them and the urbanized jurisdictions would profit by having long-term economic partners in future capital-improvement projects, a larger number of customers to serve and possibly an increased bonding capacity. This redistribution of services and service delivery would reduce the average costs of services.

The regional planning authority's monitoring of service extensions in relation to the regional plan would control the negative effects of growth. Conditions for service extensions would include the usual ones involving minimum population, density, other economic factors and an additional requirement that an area provide housing opportunities for its proportion of the regional minority population. Over the next 20 years this policy alone could effectively desegregate over 50 percent of the projected population of the region.

Such special districts should be multifunctional. It is important for the long-range success of the district that their duties are not too narrowly defined by state enabling legislation. The success of initial intergovernmental cooperation in the region will help to determine the feasibility and approach to be used for further regional cooperation proposed in Phase III.

Establish housing-improvement districts. In those residential neighborhoods where Phase I policies such as increased loan commitments have had little or no revitilization effects, the city may desire to establish a housing-improvement district. Under a proposed constitutional amendment, after two public hearings and adequate notification, portions of any incorporated city in the state of Georgia may be declared a housing-improvement district. To be eligible the area must be determined to be a liability by the city due to physical deterioration or obsolescence and other conditions detrimental to the city's health, welfare and economic stability.

Once an area has been so designated the city must develop a plan which describes the redevelopment or rehabilitation of all or any part of that district. For up to 10 years the state enabling legislation totally exempts from taxation any improvements to property used for residences, parks and recreation facilities. Their tax valuation would be taken as the value of the property the year prior to redevelopment. After 10 years, the property would be reassessed and taxed at the normal valuation.

The resulting benefits would be similar to those of expanded central city loans. Middle-income whites and blacks, attracted to a central city residential neighborhood because of the guaranteed lower and stable tax burden, could demonstrate the positive aspects of heterogeneous residential neighborhoods to others.

Institute inclusionary zoning. Inclusionary zoning builds upon Phase I litigation against exclusionary zoning policies. Fairfax County, Virginia, and Montgomery County, Maryland, have developed inclusionary zoning policies for residential developments of 50 units or more, requiring that 15 percent of a development's units be for low- and moderate-income residents, with 6 percent the minimum for low-income residents.

Such policies are of questionable legality, but instead of demanding that a developer provide a certain percentage of housing for low- and moderate-income residents, a jurisdiction could offer development-density bonuses for alternative land uses included in subdivisions. An example would be a bonus equal to the percentage of dwelling units provided for low- and moderate-income residents, up to 25 percent of the total units. As a further incentive, up to 5 percent of the installation of basic public services would be provided by in-kind contributions from the regional special district if the developer set aside land for the construction of community facilities.

The ARC, as coordinator of the regional service districts, would also be the coordinating agency for local inclusionary zoning policies, with the responsibility of drafting a model ordinance incorporating density bonuses. To insure acceptance the ARC should establish a method of giving priority to service extensions into areas adopting such an ordinance. The result should be a more desirable racial and economic mixture built into the pattern of developing residential subdivisions.

Establish state zoning appeals board. The state of Georgia should be given legislative mandate to review local zoning decisions deemed to have state or regional impact, specifically, those local zoning cases dealing with housing for blacks, whether of low, moderate or upper income. The 18 APDC's in the state would act as regional initiators of such a review process.

An example of this procedure might be a rezoning hearing in a suburban county to change a tract zoned single-family residential to a medium-density, multifamily development. The developer might be a limited dividend, nonprofit or public agency. The local zoning review board would decide the case; if the request were denied, it would routinely be sent to the ARC for review against three criteria: whether the jurisdiction has a minority population roughly equivalent to the regional minority population, whether the area in which the housing is to be constructed has a minority population of more than 25 percent of the jurisdiction's total minority population, and whether the construction of the multifamily units is inconsistent with the regional development plan.

If any of these three conditions is evident, the ARC has the option to approve the decision, but if none is, or if one is evident with extenuating circumstances, the ARC would then notify the local zoning board that state appeals board action was being initiated. The locality would have 14 days to show cause why the case should not be appealed or to reverse or modify its initial decision on the matter. If, at its hearing, the state board is unable to find local circumstances that override the regional impacts and justify the denial, it would order the local zoning board to modify or reverse its decision.

By resorting to this process only as a back-up, the regional and local bodies would work together in resolving differences between local needs and overriding regional objectives. Using the regional planning and development agency insures full knowledge of the project's relationship to the regional development plan and the locality's past attitudes and actions. When the residential and employment opportunities of the region's minorities are restricted by local policies, local interest must yield to promote the welfare, safety and fiscal stability of the metropolitan area.

Community organization and involvement: marshal and implement action. Many of the policies of Phase II require state, regional and local legislative action to modify existing policies. These actions represent the first time in this sequential process that local residents have the opportunity to register their opinions on recommended strategies. It is also the first time that the community organization network will be called upon to foster and sustain widespread community support.

Community meetings in this phase should reemphasize the common problems the community's divergent groups have and specify how the recommended policies might solve or reduce them. When the community structure has been adequately established and refined, the organization's members then lobby for passage of the enabling legislation.

Require expanded housing opportunities with expanded employment base. Historically, the city of Atlanta has both grown as an employment center and provided the opportunity for housing and employment to all workers, regardless of color or income. The same conditions do not, however, exist in most of the region's suburban areas where fiscal barriers have allowed employers to settle in suburban jurisdictions while excluding many prospective employees.

To remedy this situation, the state should pass legislation enabling the area planning commissions to work toward achieving a regional housing and employment balance in compliance with the regional development plan. In the Atlanta region, each local jurisdiction would have to file a housing opportunity proportional evaluation (HOPE) report, estimating the number and proportion of black residents in the jurisdiction, the number of black residents working in the jurisdiction and the proportion of black workers to the jurisdiction's total work force.

The estimates provided by the HOPE reports would be mapped and analyzed by the ARC. Existing deficiencies of housing opportunity for blacks would have to be remedied if the percentage of black interjurisdictional commuters were 1.5 times or more as great as the percentage of their white counterparts. Remedial action would involve the provision of additional housing opportunities for black workers at the same rate as the black to white commuter rate. (As an example, if this rate equals 2.2, then 2.2 times as many housing opportunities for blacks must be provided in the jurisdiction as the percentage of new black residents to total black workers in the jurisdiction.)

For jurisdictions with a comparative rate below 1.5, the number of housing opportunities provided for black workers must equal the percentage of current black residents to workers plus 5 percent annually. The 5 percent surcharge would be omitted when the black commuter rate fell to 100 percent of the white rate.

If the number of black workers in a jurisdiction is less than 10 percent of the total work force, the jurisdiction would be required to actively solicit and promote the hiring of blacks to achieve this minimum percentage within three years. A total of 1.5 times the annual number of new black workers would be required for additional housing opportunities for blacks until the black commuter rate was 100 percent of the white rate.

As incentives, the ARC could deny federal funds to a local jurisdiction which did not comply with this policy of equal residential and employment access and the state could likewise withhold funds from such jurisdictions if the ARC so recommended. Further, all nonresidential rezoning requests brought up in the affected jurisdiction would automatically be heard by the state appeals board to determine if the zoning were in the best interest of the region or if the commercial interest or industry should locate elsewhere in the region.

Phase III

Community organization and involvement: solidify gains for new basis. Only widespread and positive community support can sustain the policies recommended in Phase III. This final phase of community organization and involvement requires that citizens adopt, internalize and *live* fundamental changes in their governmental structures and their lifestyles.

Establish regional education authority. Phase I and II actions should have established a sound basis for the initiation of a regional education authority (REA). Membership of individual school districts in the REA would be a prerequisite to their receiving any state funding above a minimum amount of $100 per ADA student. The principal duties of the REA would be the redistribution of local education-revenue funds, coordination of facilities usage, development and operation of alternative educational centers and allocation of state education contributions. The administration would be handled by establishing four zones in the region, each containing six districts. The zones would be drawn to include portions of at least three existing school districts and one must be a portion of the city of Atlanta system.

The other incentive for membership is the development and operation of specialized alternative-education centers. Each district would have one alternative elementary center and each zone would have two middle or senior high school alternative centers, the nature of which is to be determined by the residents of the districts. The basic options include: open and fundamental education for elementary centers, career-exploration centers for middle schools and programs of career specialties and joint enrollment for high school centers. Special programs for handicapped and gifted students of all ages are to be provided region-wide.

Use of existing educational facilities for REA centers is a priority, with new facilities being constructed only if existing ones are inadequate for the program. Regular activities in the local schools would continue but would be made available to all students of the zone under an open-transfer plan.

Desegregation of the classroom is an objective of the REA, although increased quality of education is its primary goal. Voluntary transfers among existing school districts are encouraged subject to REA approval. In the first year of the authority's existence, a minimum of one-third of the region's schools should have a majority student body no more than 65 percent of one race, with all schools meeting this criterion by the end of the third year. No student will be allowed to transfer into a school with more than 75 percent of his or her race.

Existing school districts will, after three years, be combined into divisions of the regional authority for administrative purposes. The divisions, however, will remain functionally independent, able to choose their own methods of responding to the policy statements of the REA as long as these methods do not conflict with the REA objectives and guidelines.

The Atlanta region's school districts have a wealth of educational resources; through the REA, these will be available to all the region's students. The REA would also serve to minimize the duplication of facilities and enable the acquisition of materials or facilities which one system alone would not afford.

Institute housing-allocation plan. The regional housing-allocation plan (RHAP) would institutionalize regional cooperation, requiring that each jurisdiction provide housing for its fair share of the region's minority and low-income residents. Existing community-development agencies at the local jurisdictions will continue to prepare proposals for federal funding and to implement those approved, but proposals must receive the ARC approval to insure they conform to the regional developmental plan.

Factors considered in the RHAP's allocation of housing opportunities include each jurisdiction's income distribution, racial composition, residential density, existing housing needs, developable lands, employment opportunities, capacity of educational facilities and the fiscal stability. The geographic units of the RHAP are coterminous with those of the regional education authority. Each of the zones is assigned its weighted proportion of housing opportunities for blacks and new construction in each of the districts may not deviate more than 15 percent from that proportion, to insure that black residential opportunities are found throughout all districts.

Taking into consideration the economic consequences of economic integration, the RHAP will not require that housing for lower-income residents necessarily be built in middle- or upper-income residential neighborhoods. What the RHAP will require is that a specific proportion of blacks have the opportunity to reside in each of the 24 districts. The resulting increased residential opportunities for blacks, improved proximity to jobs and improved educational resources, should improve economic desegregation over time.

Summary. Phase III's basic structural changes in the delivery of educational services and housing opportunities institutionalize the voluntary gains stemming from preceding policy actions and expand the gains into jurisdictions where voluntary adoption has been minimal.

This overall strategy is not designed to force desegregation on unwilling participants, black or white. Rather, it is intended to serve as an instrument of communication to establish an objective dialogue through which individuals may determine their own courses of action within a system of equal opportunity.

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Appendix A
Additional Resources

A. Metropolitan cooperative programs: city/suburb

METCO - Metropolitan Council for Educational Opportunity. For information contact:

Marcus Mitchell
Director of Public Relations
METCO
55 Dimock Street
Roxbury, Mass. 02119

Project Concern. There are two Connecticut programs. For information contact:

William F. Paradis, Director
Project Concern
128 Westland Street
Hartford, Conn. 06120

Richard McCaulley, Coordinator
Project Concern
197 Dixwell Avenue
New Haven, Conn. 06511

Metropolitan Rochester Urban/Suburban Independent Transfer Program. For information contact:

Norman N. Gross
Urban/Suburban Transfer Program
2400 Oakview Drive
Rochester, New York 14617

B. The following is a list of some of the individuals and organizations in various cities who are knowledgeable about the processes and problems of desegregation.

BOSTON

James Breeden, Executive Director
City-Wide Coordinating Council
31 Milk Street
Boston, Mass. 02108

Robert E. Donahue, Director
Office of Implementation
Boston Public Schools
26 Court Street
Boston, Mass. 02108

Robert A. Dentler, Marvin B. Scott
Special Masters to the Court
School of Education, Room 1092
Boston University
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State Department of Education
178 Tremont Street
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Mary Ellen Smith, Director
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DENVER

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The Denver Post
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Denver, Colo. 80201

Ramona McHenry, Chairperson
Reverend Richard Kerr
People Let's Unite for Schools (Plus)
The Church of the Holy Redeemer
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Milwaukee, Wis. 53211

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Milwaukee, Wis. 53202

WILMINGTON

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Alfred I. DuPont School District
4 Mt. Lebanon Road
Wilmington, Del. 19803

Ruth Graham, Betty Lewis,
Co-Chairpersons, Citizens'
Alliance for Public Education
830 North Union Street
Wilmington, Del. 19805

Jeffrey A. Raffel, Staff Director
Delaware Committee on the
School Decision
28 West Delaware Avenue
Newark, Del. 19711

Joseph E. Johnson, Superintendent
Wilmington Public Schools
Post Office Box 869
Wilmington, Del. 19899

Dorothy Marengo, Executive Director
SANE, Inc.
1212 King Street
Wilmington, Del. 19801

Joseph Rule
Department of Public Affairs
I. E. DuPont Company
Wilmington, Del. 19898

C. National organizations offering various kinds of technical assistance in the area of desegregation.

LQC Lamar Society. The Lamar Society usually works toward coalescing support among and planning strategy with local leadership in cities contemplating or undergoing desegregation. Contact: Frank A. Rose, A. Wayne Braden or Ms. Mardi Osman.

Lamar Society
475 L'Enfant Plaza West
Suite 2100
Washington, D.C. 20024

National Education Strategy Center. The center's staff focus primarily on the particular needs of those persons working in areas affected by desegregation, and offer planning and training assistance in, among others, information dissemination, transportation, resource identification, security and crisis prevention and intervention. Contact: James E. Barnes.

National Education Strategy Center
69 Lafayette Street
Hartford, Conn. 06106

National Center for Quality Integrated Education. Among other activities, the center works with community organizations in developing funding proposals under the Emergency School Aid Act. Contact: Donald R. Shire.

National Center for Quality
Integrated Education
1201 16th Street NW
NEA Building, Room 403
Washington, D.C. 20036

Appendix B
Geocoding System: The Seattle School Experience
William A. Collison

The objective of this appendix is to provide the interested reader a more-detailed description than appears in the text of geocoding or geographic analysis systems, their general utility to school districts and their potential as a tool in efforts to reduce isolation.

The following is an edited version of a paper by William A. Collison (1973) of the Seattle Public Schools, which has been generalized for purposes of this publication. The first section of the paper relates to the functional uses of geographic analysis and the second to the models identified in Charles E. Barbe Jr.'s (1973) *Geocode Utility and Functional Models.*

Many school districts in our large metropolitan areas are currently experiencing a cluster of very similar problems. Enrollment is declining, in numerous suburbs as well as in central cities. In addition there have been drastic changes in the composition of student bodies, and to some extent staffs, such that central cities have a disproportionate share, and sometimes a majority, of disadvantaged and minority students. Desegregation is often a pressing and controversial issue.

The problems associated with declining enrollment, desegregating neighborhoods with high concentrations of minority students or students on the low end of the economic ladder, facilities consolidation and upgrading and transportation planning all lend themselves to careful geographic analysis.

Given recent trends in declining financial support, public education systems may turn increasingly to such tools to maximize existing resources.

I. Functional Uses

The need to identify resources and to locate areas where they are needed, to determine priority of needs and to develop means for economically allocating students to resources and resources to students, is the focus of geographic-analysis efforts.

Analysis tasks involve identifying the distribution of the student population, the associated characteristics of those students and the resource requirements of the various neighborhoods served, including such needs as transportation resources, facilities and equipment and general or specialized teaching resources.

Each student's location and his or her associated characteristics are maintained on an automated file. Locational or geographic characteristics include census tract and block, nearest nodes and the distance between the student's residence and a pool of the nearest schools (this number would vary, depending upon the size of population necessary for sufficient resource distribution).

With this information a system is equipped to provide:

1. Principals with
   a. point maps by student residence
   b. boundary-analysis maps
   c. statistical summaries by school, grade and race.
2. Transportation planners with
   a. eligibility lists for transportation
   b. student-identification cards
   c. planning worksheet maps.
3. Office of Student Placement with
   a. reports of all students attending a school other than their neighborhood school (this office is charged with implementing school-assignment and control policies)
   b. eligibility lists (or transfer orders) for students graduating from one building to another.
4. Population analysts with
   a. neighborhood racial-distribution summaries, both in report and graphic form

    b. migration indicators by race, including
        (1) direction
        (2) velocity
        (3) dispersion
    c. selected socioeconomic characteristics for validating student eligibility for special funding.

5. Facilities planners with summaries by school of current and future space requirements, rank ordered by
    a. student proximity
    b. excess school capacity
    c. distance from school

    In addition, a facilities-modeling system will close selected schools, report the impact on adjacent schools and the change in the service level to affected students.

Geocoding and geographic analysis tools are becoming an integral part of school district planning and administrative processes. Spatial statistics have been used to summarize large arrays of data. The center of gravity and standard circle are instruments by which to measure centrality and dispersion of racial groups and to plan facilities location for special district or area-wide programs. By measuring any racial group over time, a district may obtain a measure of mobility by direction, velocity and dispersion.

Contour mapping and trend-surface analysis, made possible through geocoding, are effective media for summarizing information. In Seattle such 3-dimensional representations have been used to relate racial and student dropout by general location.

Spatial autocorrelation may be the greatest potential tool available to a district. Through its use a district can not only deal more effectively with such basic concerns as the most-efficient relationships of student demand to facility capacity and the minimizing of travel times, but it can better explore the complexities involved in areas such as desegregation, dropout prevention and the impact of projected school closures.

II. The Geocode Model

The first step in utilizing a geocode model is the application of a fixed area code to data. This is usually done with a grid, each unit of which is a small geographic area. U.S. Census statistics can supplement the associated student characteristic in a district's records, either by using the census tracts or blocks as the basic units or by prorating the census areas to school-service areas or even to the individual grid unit. This process enables the district to generate school-specific profiles, such as financial profiles, and to estimate neighborhood population on a continuing basis.

The second step of the model involves the application of a node network to data. Nodes are defined as neighborhood reference points, such as a street intersection or a monument, the end of a street segment or the point in a street where a change of direction occurs.

The purpose of a node network is to measure and plot minimum path distances, in this context those of students' residences to schools or out-of-school resources, schools to schools and schools to other community facilities.

In the third element of the model, x-y coordinates are added to the data file. Early stages of geocoding may extensively utilize point-in-polygon encoding. Pertinent spatial information which can then be added to student records includes various levels of administration (i.e., elementary, middle and high school zones, transportation zones); political subdivisions, including election districts for school directors or board members; and census-tract or block boundaries for the application of data gathered by nonschool sources.

The advantages of this capability are apparent. While every school has a definite attendance area assigned to it, not all students within that area attend that school, and conversely, not all students attending that school live in that area. The advantage of polygon encoding is that it enables a district to measure precisely *neighborhood* or *resident* characteristics, as opposed to *attending* population characteristics.

Geocoding significantly expands a district's ability to reduce isolation. In a desegregation plan involving transfer of students, geocoding may be used to minimize travel time by focusing on where students live, rather than where they attend school; it also enables the district to consider such other factors as economic and achievement characteristics in mixing students and the special needs of bilingual students in such a desegregation effort. Further, geocoding is an effective tool with which to monitor and evaluate the effectiveness of various policies or programs on ethnic balance.

Other uses of polygon encoding include modeling the effect of a proposed school-boundary change or school closure on students and facilities, in terms of resulting ethnic balance and impact on capacity at surrounding schools; reviewing the location of special education students to select the most appropriate sites for needed programs; and identifying all students eligible for regular transportation, producing bus cards and mapping the most-efficient routings.

III. Metro Geocode Model

Thus far the description of the model has been in terms of its usage by the public school subsystem. But the model has tremendous applicability to other subsystems and to the metropolitan area as a whole. Seattle's experience is illustrative.

In 1971 the Seattle School District and the University of Washington formed an informal consortium to maintain a geographic base file, to develop new spatial analysis tools and to promote their use in the community. This consortium, called "GEOBASYS," has a full-time staff, funding and a substantial management commitment. This commitment is to accomplish the following tasks on a metropolitan basis: (1) establish a solid technical, financial and management base for the spatial technology, (2) develop a user community and (3) develop geocoding data resources and facilitate their exchange within the Seattle area urban-analysis community.

GEOBASYS has provided services to the King County Department of Records and Elections, which included constructing over 1,000 precinct polygons. It has geocoded origin and destination records for traffic and transportation studies and done a study of injury traffic accidents and traffic violations for the Seattle Police Department. The latter study included the use of spatial autocorrelation to evaluate manpower allocations.

It is anticipated that the involvement of GEOBASYS in spatial statistics will continue to grow as its perceptiveness increases and as public and private institutions awaken to the utility of automated geographic analysis. The possibilities for usage appear almost limitless.

As Seattle demonstrates, school districts can be both the principal user of geocoding and at the hub of geographic-analysis systems in the metropolitan community. Developing a consortium of interests (and financing) among governmental users is the only practical solution for maintaining a geographic base file and software systems, and it can be an important element in efforts to reduce isolation in the metropolitan area.

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W.A. Collison, *Geocoding Systems: The Seattle School District Experience*, prepared for presentation at the 1973 Annual URISA Conference August 29-31, Atlantic City, N.J. (available from author, Seattle Public Schools, Seattle, Wash.).

Appendix C
A Process for Community Involvement in Planning for Reduction of Isolation

An individual or a group acting in a voluntary effort or under court order may wish to follow a process which continually presses toward solutions to needs. The following method was used in variations by the Boston Metropolitan Planning Project, but it is adaptable to many situations calling for an orderly process from perception of problems to program solutions. It is a modification of the work of Delbecq and Van de Ven (1971) in their development of a Program Planning Model (PPM).

First Step: Identify Participants

1. Meetings are set up in communities throughout the metropolitan area. These meetings may be under the sponsorship of an organization such as the League of Women Voters, Junior Chamber of Commerce, or American Congress of Parents and Teachers or they may be ad hoc, called by friends and acquaintances. They may be meetings of citizens, parents and agency representatives.
2. Short, well-written summaries of the information gathered as in Chapter III (1.0) are sent to each potential attendee well before the meeting dates.

Second Step: Conduct Workshop on Problems

At the first meeting of a community group, a community member will preside. Initially, this member will be selected by the sponsoring organization, but the permanent presiding officer will later (at the second meeting) be elected by the group. The presider will have been briefed regarding a process for fully involving all participants. Helpers, earlier briefed on their roles, will be on hand to provide nondirecting support. The first meeting will be active, involving, short and productive. It will follow this procedure:

1. (No more than five minutes) The presider will open the meeting thanking those present and briefly stating the concern for which they were invited. The group will be reassured that each individual will have a part which is significant and that there will be no rubber stamping of anyone's program or platform. Also, it will be emphasized that this first meeting is to pinpoint and understand the problems and the needs, not to propose solutions. The presiding person will then lay out the procedure for the meeting including a closing time.
2. (No more than 30 minutes). The large group is divided into groups who sit around separate tables arranged for this. Each person is given a 5 x 7 card and asked to write upon one side personal feelings, such as fears, embarrassment or discomfort. On the other side he or she is asked to list all the problems associated with isolation that come to mind.
3. (No more than 15 minutes) At the end of 30 minutes, a helper at each table, armed with a tripod, a tablet of large sheets of newsprint and a felt pen, will ask each participant at the table to read one problem about isolation from his card. The helper writes them on the newsprint, each problem as stated, repeating this process going around the table until all the problems are recorded on the newsprint, then tearing off the newsprint and taping it to the wall with masking tape.
4. (10 minutes) The helper repeats the procedure with the personal feelings statements.
5. (5 minutes) New items are listed as they come up.
6. (10 minutes) Take a break.
7. (30 minutes) In the same small groups there is a discussion for clarification or for adding items.
8. (5 minutes) Each member is asked to vote on (a) the personal problem list and (b) the isolation list by numbering the five items in each which are felt to be most vital. The helper collects and records the votes on the appropriate newsprint sheet.
9. (10 minutes) All the groups come together and a reporting by groups and a discussion ensues.
10. (10 minutes) The presider then explains the next step and invites all participants in the meeting to the next phase. Sometimes representatives are elected to go on to phase II. But one should keep in mind the desirability of building a constituency as the process unfolds.

Third Step: A Charette*

1. In this step members of the workshop are joined by specialists in a charette. These specialists are persons experienced and adept in translating problems and needs into workable proposals. They are often available from colleges, universities, model cities and governmental units. It should be noted that a larger and potentially more-powerful constituency is formed as the specialists join the workshop people.
2. Before the charette begins, the initiator sorts the problems and needs which arose in the previous workshop into two categories: major and minor. These are displayed prominantly in the charette workroom. The newsprint recordings of the previous workshop are also taped to the walls of the workroom. In some instances, it may be advisable to send a summary of these to the invited specialists prior to the charette.
3. The presider — the same one who presided at the workshop — opens the charette, thanking the participants, reassuring them that their work will

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*An intense final effort made by architectural students to complete their solutions to a given architectural problem in an allotted time or the period in which such an effort is made (*Webster's Third New International Dictionary*, Springfield, Mass., G. & C. Merriam Company, 1967).

be significant. After a brief review of the progress made in the previous workshop, the role of the specialists is defined: they are experts to help develop workable proposals and not representatives of a particular point of view. The presider sets the objectives for the charette as developing alternative solutions to the major priority needs using (a) resources which are presently available in the metropolitan area and (b) new resources which could be brought to bear in reducing isolation.

4. The participants are then divided into small groups around tables. Each group has at least one specialist. A helper at each table is available to record ideas and provide material:

   (60 minutes) In order to get things going, each may be asked to write on one side of a 5 x 7 card "solutions using available resources" and on the other side "solutions using new resources." In this procedure there would be a card for each priority. At the end of an hour the helper at each table records the solutions on newsprint sheets, one sheet for "solutions with available resources," another for "solutions requiring new resources."

5. (10 minutes) Take a break.
6. (60 minutes) Each group discusses the possible solutions with the end of developing a feasible proposal for each priority need.
7. (45 minutes) Each group reports its solutions to the total group. These are recorded and numbered by helpers. A short discussion ensues. All participants are then asked to vote on the solutions to the priority needs.
8. At the end of the charette, all participants are invited to the fourth step — a meeting with administrative officers of units which may be responsible for implementing the proposals.

Fourth Step: Meeting With Administrative Persons

In a process such as this, the initiator will undoubtedly have invited participation of representatives of the chief administrators who may ultimately have the job of implementing a proposal. It may then be assumed that the administration is reasonably aware of the progress of the planning. However, before proposals are fully developed, this fourth step is needed to review the priorities and proposals.

The work of the preceding steps is presented to the administrators. Priorities and proposed solutions which have been voted are gone over. The presenters will want to obtain any reservations, concerns or conditions which the administrators may have. The climate is one of discussion and, if needed, bargaining. The outcome hoped for is an agreement from administrators who provide technical assistance in developing the proposals into a specific program or alternative programs.

Fifth Step: A Participants' Review

After the alternative programs have been developed, all the participants of the workshop, charette and administrators meetings are asked to a meeting to review the programs. The purpose of this is to ascertain if the original statements of need are reasonably met in the programs. It is a validation meeting. At the meeting a technical specialist will report on the details of the proposed programs. Each component is tied to the input.

A discussion ensues as to whether or not the program adequately translates the participants' needs. A voting process in which each component is examined and discussed will provide additional complexity, but also strength, to the outcome.

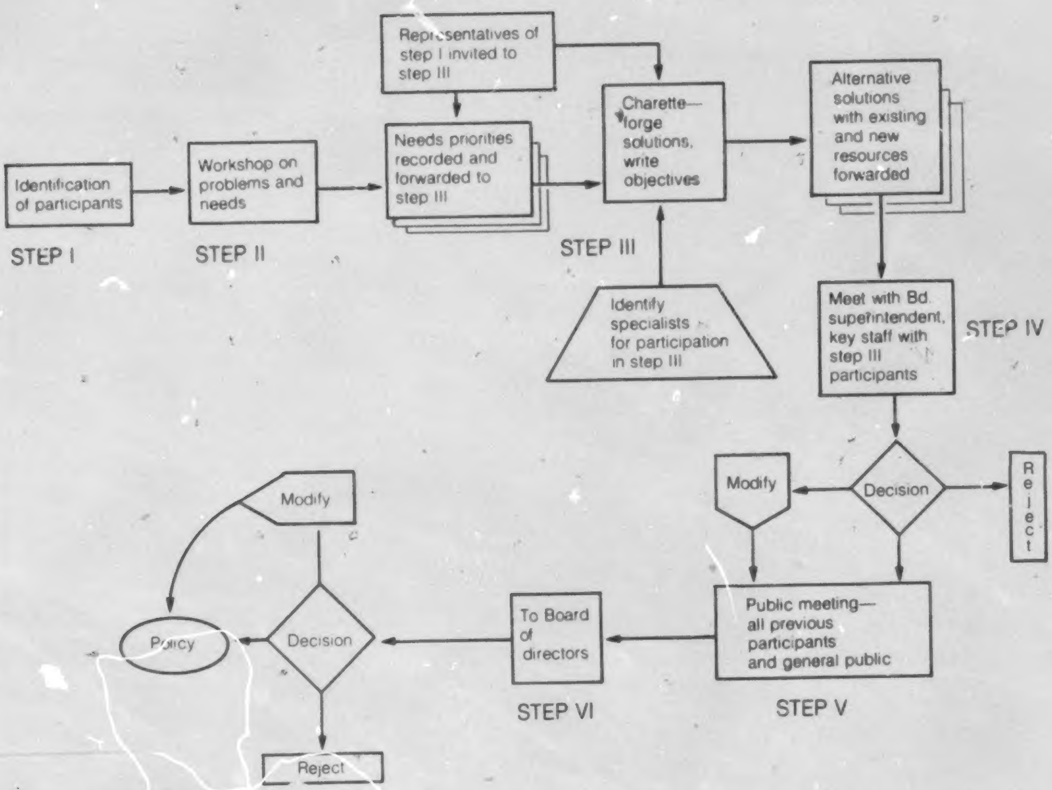
Sixth Step: Presentation to the Governing Board

By this time the program has generated a constituency of participants, lay and expert, and the administration has had a hand in its finalizing. When it is brought to the governing authority for a decision, it is brought with considerable power. A desirable procedure would be for the administrator to present the programs as recommendations. While the authority may be reluctant to affirm the programs, it is faced with a strong constituency, which has labored long and used expert input, and many of whom may now sit in the audience awaiting a decision.

REFERENCE

A.L. Delbecq and A.A. Van de Ven, "A Group Process Model for Problem Identification and Program Planning," *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, 4, 1971 7, 466-92.

Figure 7.
Flowchart for participation.


Representatives of step I invited to step III
Identification of participants
Workshop on problems and needs
Needs priorities recorded and forwarded to step III
Charette—forge solutions, write objectives
Alternative solutions with existing and new resources forwarded
STEP I
STEP II
STEP III
Identify specialists for participation in step III
Meet with Bd. superintendent, key staff with step III participants
STEP IV
Modify
Decision
Reject
Modify
Policy
Decision
To Board of directors
Public meeting—all previous participants and general public
STEP VI
STEP V
Reject

PROJECT PARTICIPANTS

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